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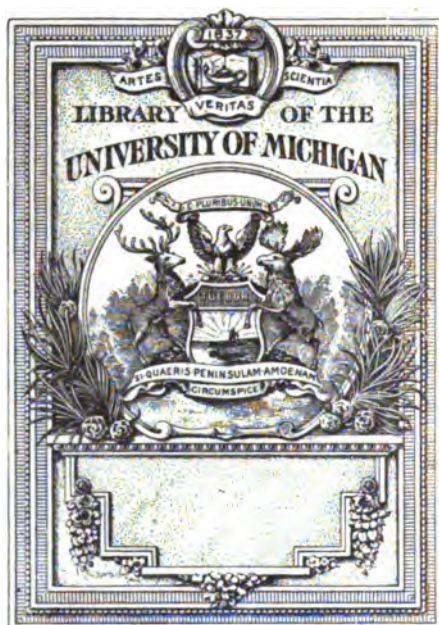
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*AUTHENTICITY OF THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES
DEFENDED AGAINST HARNACK AND SPITTA.*

II.

IN my previous paper I pointed out what appeared to me the overwhelming objections to the Tübingen theory, that the Epistle was written in the middle of the second century after Christ. I have now to examine the opposite theory which makes it a product of the first century before Christ. As I joined Jülicher with Harnack in considering the former theory, so I propose to supplement Spitta's *Zur Geschichte des Urchristenthums* by Massebieau's very interesting paper, *L'Épître de Jacques, est-elle l'œuvre d'un Chrétien*, pp. 1-35, reprinted from the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* for 1895, in which he arrives independently at the same conclusion as Spitta.

The arguments adduced in favour of the pre-Christian authorship of the Epistle seem to me to be of far greater weight than those which we have previously considered, and I am willing to admit that a strong case is made out for the supposition of interpolation in chap. ii. 1; still my opinion as to the genuineness of the Epistle, as a whole, remains unshaken. The main point of attack is of course the universally acknowledged reticence as to higher Christian doctrines and to the life and work of our Lord. What is new is (1) the careful examination of the two passages in which the name of Christ occurs, and (2) the attempt to show that there is nothing in the Epistle which may not be paralleled from Jewish writings. As regards (1) it is pointed out that in both passages the sentence would

read as well if the name were omitted. To take first the case which offers most difficulties from the conservative point of view (ii. 1) *μη ἐν προσωπολημψίαις ἔχετε τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου [ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] τῆς δόξης*, it is pointed out that the construction of *τῆς δόξης* has been felt as a great difficulty by all the interpreters, and that this difficulty disappears if we omit the words in brackets. We then have the perfectly simple phrase "the faith of the Lord of glory," the latter words, or words equivalent to them, being frequently used of God in Jewish writings, as in Ps. xxix. 3 *ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης*, Ps. xxiv. 7-10 *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης*, and especially in the Book of Enoch, *e.g.*, xxii. 14 *ἠύλόγησα τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης*, xxv. 3 *ὁ μέγας κύριος τῆς δόξης*, *ib.* v. 7, xxvii. 5 *ἠύλόγησα τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ ἐδήλωσα καὶ ὑμνησα*, *ib.* v. 3.¹ It is next pointed out that there are other undoubted examples of the interpolation of the name of Christ in the New Testament, *e.g.*, Col. i. 2; 2 Thess. i. 1; James v. 14, and that the use of the phrase *κύριος τῆς δόξης* of Christ in 1 Cor. ii. 8, may have led to the insertion of the gloss here. In the preceding verse (i. 27), which is closely connected with this, *ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ* is represented as watching over the orphan and widow; the only true service in His sight is to visit them in their affliction, and keep oneself unspotted from the world. The second chapter is still occupied with our treatment of the poor. We are warned not to let our faith in the Lord be mixed up with respect of persons (v. 1) and worldly motives (v. 4), and (in v. 5) we are reminded that it is the poor whom God has chosen to be rich in faith. Must not the "Lord" of the intermediate verse be the same as the "God" of v. 27 and v. 5? The same conclusion is suggested by a comparison with the 1st Epistle of Peter, which may be regarded as in some respects a Christianized version of our Epistle. There are many resemblances between 1 Pet. i. 17-21 and Jas. i.

¹ Cited by Spitta, pp. iv. and 4.

26-ii. 2. Thus μάταιος of Jas. i. 26 recurs in Pet. i. 18; πατρί, ἄσπιλον, κόσμον of Jas. i. 27 recur in Pet. i. 17, 19, 20; προσωπολημψίαις, πίστιν, δόξης of Jas. ii. 1 are found in Pet. i. 17, 21; χρυσοδακτύλιος of Jas. ii. 2 and ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος κατίωται of Jas. v. 3 are represented in Pet. i. 18 by the words φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ. What do we find then in Pet. to correspond to μὴ ἐν προσωπολημψίαις ἔχετε τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης? The words of Pet. i. 17 are εἰ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸν ἀπροσωλήμπτως κρίνοντα, and we may gather his interpretation of πίστιν and δόξης from 21, τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα, ὥστε τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν . . . εἶναι εἰς θεόν. Here it is the Father, not Christ, who judges without respect of persons; faith is in God, not in Christ; the glory is resident in God and bestowed by Him on Christ. Would St. Peter have written thus, if he had had the present text of our Epistle before his eyes?

The same method of treatment is applied in i. 1 Ἰάκωβος θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλος, but while Massebieau would bracket only the name Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Spitta omits the four words between θεοῦ and δούλος, giving the phrase θεοῦ δούλος which we find in Tit. i. 1. Massebieau's excision would give θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου δούλος, which he thinks is supported by the other compound phrases (ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, i. 27; ὁ κύριος καὶ πατήρ, iii. 9) used of God in the Epistle. I do not however remember any example of the phrase θεὸς καὶ κύριος. Philo has κύριος καὶ θεός in this order (M., p. 581), and κύριος ὁ θεός occurs frequently, even where the Hebrew has the inverted order, as Ps. lxxxv. 8, "I will hearken what God the Lord will say." Of the two suggestions I prefer Spitta's, but it has nothing special to recommend it, as we found to be the case in the previous verse. If the Epistle is proved on other grounds to be pre-Christian, we should then be compelled to admit interpola-

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tion here, but not otherwise. We cannot, of course, deny that interpolation is a *vera causa*. We have examples of Hebrew books, which have undergone Christian revision, in the Fourth Book of Ezra, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Didaché, the Sibylline Books, etc. A natural objection however to the alleged interpolation in this case is that, if it were desired to give a Christian colour to a Hebrew treatise, the interpolator would not have confined himself to inserting the name of Christ in two passages only, he would at any rate have introduced some further reference to the life and work of Christ, where it seemed called for. Spitta answers this by citing the case of 4 Ezra vii. 28, where "Jesus" is read in the Latin, instead of "Messiah" read in the Syriac and other versions, also the Testament of Abraham, which closes with the Christian doxology. But if we turn to Dr. James' edition of these apocryphal books, we shall find that interpolation is by no means limited to these passages, cf. Test. Abr., p. 50 foll., and 4 Ezra, p. xxxix. I think therefore that the balance of probability is greatly against the idea that a Christian wishing to adapt for Church use the Hebrew treatise, which now goes under the name of James, would have been contented with these two alterations.

I turn next to the more general proofs adduced by Spitta to show that the Epistle, setting aside the two verses in question, does not rise above the level of pre-Christian Hebrew literature, and that its apparent connexion with other books of the New Testament is to be explained either by a common indebtedness to earlier Hebrew writings, or by the dependence of the other books on our Epistle.¹ In like manner Massebieau, after giving an excellent analysis of the argument, urges that not only does it make no distinct reference to the Christian scheme of salvation, but that it absolutely excludes it. Salvation is wrought by

¹ Spitta, pp. 10-13.

the Word or the Truth, the Law of Liberty progressively realized by human effort aided by Divine Wisdom. If this Word or this Wisdom has descended to earth, it is not in the form of a distinct person, but as an influence, an indwelling spirit, animating and guiding those who are begotten from above, the elect heirs of the kingdom. If belief in Christ is compatible with such a system of doctrine, it can only be belief in Him as a Messiah preparing the way for the kingdom of God. He is no longer essential to salvation. And if not recognised as Saviour, neither is He recognised as Teacher. It is true there is much in the Epistle which is also alleged to have been spoken by Jesus, but there is nothing to mark this as of special importance or authority, like the citations from the Old Testament. The words of our Lord seem to stand on the same level with the writer's own words. At times there appears even to be a contradiction between the teaching of Jesus and that of James, as when the latter tries to excite the anger of his readers against the rich, who had maltreated them ; instead of reminding them that their duty was to love their enemies and to do good to them that hated them. In like manner, whereas Jesus had foretold that the Son of Man should come in the glory of His Father to reward every man according to his works, James evidently regards God as the final Judge, for the Judge and the Lawgiver are one (iv. 12), and the cry of the injured husbandmen goes up to the Lord of Sabaoth, whose coming the brethren are to await in patience, for He is near, even at the doors (v. 4, 7, 8, 9).¹

I cannot help thinking that much of the difficulty which is found in the Epistle, arises from our bringing to its study the idea of Christianity which we have derived from the writings of St. Paul. If we compare its doctrine with that of the first two Gospels, I think that in some respects

¹ Massebieau, pp. 2-9.

it shows a distinct advance on these. *There*, as *here*, and in Romans x. 17, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God; it is the word sown in the heart and carried out in the life, which is the appointed means of salvation; but it is not so distinctly stated there, as it is here, that it is God, the sole Author of all good, who of His own will makes use of the word to quicken us to a new life. St. John alone of the Evangelists has risen to the same height in the words "As many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God; which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." If it be said that the Pentecostal gift of the Spirit forms the dividing line between fully developed and rudimentary Christianity, and that we have no right to compare what professes to be a product of the one with what professes to belong to the other; it may be answered (1) that the Evangelists themselves wrote with a full knowledge of the later development of Christianity so far as it is shown in the Acts, and (2) that a comparison with this later Christianity confirms our previous result. St. James would have agreed not only with the words ascribed to St. Peter, "In every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him," "Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost"; but also with the words ascribed to St. Paul, "By Him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses," "I commend you to God and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified." Compare with these verses the universalist tone of St. James, his reference to the Spirit implanted in us, the distinctive epithets attached to the royal law of liberty, the promise of the kingdom to those that love God, and are begotten again

through the word of truth to be a kind of firstfruits of his creatures. One topic indeed is absent from the Epistle, viz., the reference to the Resurrection as proving that Jesus is the Messiah; but if this is a letter addressed, as it purports to be, to believers by a believer, there was no reason to insist on what was already acknowledged by both parties.

So much in answer to the charge that it falls below the standard of early Christianity. The next thing is to show that it rises above the standard of contemporary Hebrew writings. Spitta seems to think that, if, taking the whole range of pre-Christian Jewish literature, inspired and un-inspired, he can here and there discover a parallel for a precept or maxim of St. James, this is enough to prove that the Epistle is itself pre-Christian: but surely this is to forget that the New Testament has its roots in the Old Testament, and that Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil. The right course, as it seems to me, is to take an undoubted product of the first century B.C. and compare it with our Epistle. I have chosen for this purpose the Psalms of Solomon, a treatise which is considered by its latest editors to approach so nearly to Christian thought and sentiment, that they have hazarded the conjecture that it might have been written by the author of the *Nunc Dimittis* included in St. Luke's Gospel. The first difference which strikes me is the narrow patriotism of the one, contrasted with the universalism of the other. In the Psalms of Solomon everything centres in Israel and Jerusalem. The past history of Israel is referred to, as showing that it was under the special protection and government of God (ix., xvii.). God punished the sins of Israel in time past by the captivity in Babylon, He punishes them now by the desecration of their Temple by the Romans (ii. 2, 20-24, viii. 12 foll.). But the impiety of the foes of Israel is not unavenged; Pompeius, the Roman conqueror, has

died a shameful death in Egypt (ii. 30-33). Chapter iv. is thoroughly Jewish in its imprecations. The future glories of Israel are celebrated in chapters x. and xi. The coming of the Messiah as the King of Israel forms the subject of xvii. 23 foll. and xviii. In chapter xvi. the Psalmist prays that he may be strengthened to resist the seductions of the "strange woman." In iii. 9 the just man makes atonement for his sins by fasting (ἐξυλάσατο περὶ ἀγνοίας ἐν νηστεία). The reader will at once see how different the whole atmosphere is from that of our Epistle. It may be said however that we must seek our parallel not in the narrow-minded Hebraism of Palestine, but in the enlightened Hellenism of Philo. Let us take then any treatise of Philo's which touches on the same subjects as our Epistle, say, that on the *Decalogue* or the *Heir of the Divine Blessing*; do we find ourselves brought at all nearer to the mind of our author? The great object of Philo is to mediate between the Jew and the Gentile, to interpret Gentile philosophy to the one, and Jewish religion to the other. And his chief instrument in this work is one which had been already applied by the Stoics to the mythology of Greece, the principle of allegorization. He endeavours to commend the Jewish sacred books to the educated Gentile world by explaining them as an allegory in which their own moral and physical ideas are inculcated. To do this he is obliged to neglect altogether the literal meaning; the lessons which spring naturally from the incidents described are often entirely inverted (*e.g.*, the story of Tamar) in order to extract by any torture some reference to some fashionable thesis of the day, say the dogma of the interchange of the four elements. The same frivolity is shown in the mystical interpretation of numbers, such as 7 and 10. It is true there is combined with this an earnest protest against polytheism, together with a more practical morality, and a loftier religious philosophy, than is to be met with

in Gentile writers ; but the tone is far removed from that of St. James. The former is very much at ease in Zion, the latter has the severity and intensity of one of the old Hebrew prophets ; the former is a well-instructed scribe, the latter speaks with authority ; the former is a practised writer of high aim and great ability, gifted with imagination, feeling, eloquence, the latter speaks as he is moved by the Spirit of God. That, after all, is the broad distinction between our Epistle and all uninspired writing : it carries with it the impress of one who had passed through the greatest of all experiences, who had seen with his eyes that Eternal Life which was with the Father and was manifested to the Apostles.

I proceed now to consider the remaining arguments adduced by Massebieau, and shall then mention some points in the Epistle which seem to be irreconcilable with Jewish authorship, and go on to examine some of the parallels offered by Spitta.

Massebieau thinks that, if St. James were a Christian, he would have distinguished between what he speaks from himself and what he takes from the Gospels. I think the reason why he has not done so is that, while bringing out things new and old from his treasury, he feels that all is given to him from above : the new, as well as the old, is the teaching of Christ. As to the supposed contradiction between the language of St. James and that of Christ in regard to loving our enemies, it is enough to refer to the many warnings against anger (i. 19), quarrelling (iii. 9, iv. 1, 2), and murmuring (v. 8, 9), and to the praise of gentleness, humility, and a peaceable spirit (i. 21, iii. 17, iv. 6). Even where he reminds his readers that the rich deserve no favour at their hands, he is careful to add at once, "If you show favour to them because you remember the royal law, which bids us love our neighbour as ourselves, then you are right ; but if it is mere respect of persons, you trans-

gress the law." As to the coming Judge, any apparent contradiction is explained by St. Paul's language (Acts xvii. 31): "God hath appointed a day in which He will judge the world in righteousness by the Man whom he hath ordained."

Among things which seem to be incompatible with Jewish authorship may be mentioned the use of the phrase ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί which occurs three times (i. 16, 19, ii. 5) and is very natural as an expression of the strong φιλαδελφία which united the early disciples. Spitta only cites examples of the formal ἀδελφοί. His attempt to explain away the Christian motive of i. 18 seems to me equally unsuccessful. We read there βουληθεὶς ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀπαρχὴν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων, which Spitta understands of the first creation of man. He defends this on the ground (1) that the preceding verse reminds one of the words "God saw that it was good" (Gen. i.); (2) that there is a reference to the creation in two parallel passages of the Apocrypha (Sir. xv. 11–20, Wisdom i. 13 f., ii. 23 f.). He interprets λόγῳ ἀληθείας of the creative word, comparing Psalm xxxii. 6, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made," Aseneth 12, σύ, κυριε, εἶπας καὶ πάντα γέγονασι, καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ζωὴ ἐστὶν πάντων σου τῶν κτισμάτων, and thinks that ἀπαρχή refers to man's pre-eminence over the rest of the creation. The answer to this is that the whole object of the passage is to show the impossibility of temptation proceeding from God, because He is all-good and of His own will infused into us new life by the Gospel, in order that we might be the firstfruits of a regenerated world. The meaning of λόγῳ ἀληθείας is proved from its constant use in the New Testament, especially from Ephesians i. 13, ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας, and the parallel in 1 Peter i. 23–25, where the phrase ἀναγεγεννημένοι . . . διὰ λόγου ζώντος θεοῦ is explained by the words τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα

κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν εἰς ὑμᾶς. It is plain too from the 21st and following verses, where it is called "the engrafted word which is able to save your souls," and where we are warned to be "doers of the word and not hearers only." Yet even here Spitta (θέσιν διαφυλάττων) sticks to it that we are to think only of the creative word. How are we to *do* the creative word? How is it to save our souls? How is it to be to us "the perfect law of liberty" of v. 25? All these phrases have a distinctively Christian meaning shown in the parallels I have cited from St. Peter and St. Paul. To understand them in any other sense makes nonsense of the whole passage. The word ἀπαρχή also is mistranslated by Spitta. It denotes not a climax, but a prophecy.

I will notice only one more passage out of many that I had marked, viz., v. 14, 15 προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες ἐλαίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι· καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα, καὶ ἐγερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος. This simple regulation, as to the method to be pursued in working a miracle of healing, seems to me not less strong a proof that the Epistle was written at a time when such miracles were expected to be wrought, and were regarded as customary incidents,—a state of mind of which I do not think any example is to be found either in the century preceding the preaching of the Baptist, or in the post-apostolic age,—I say, this is not less strong a proof of a contemporary belief in such miracles, than are St. Paul's directions about the gift of tongues and prophecy, as to the existence of those phenomena in his day.

In my edition, p. iii. foll., I have argued that the Epistle must have been written by St. James, (1) because of the resemblance which it bears to the speeches and circular of St. James recorded to the Acts; (2) because it exactly suits all that we know of him. It was his office to interpret Christianity to the Jews. He is the authority whom

St. Paul's opponents profess to follow. Tradition even goes so far as to represent the unbelieving Jews as still doubting, at the end of his life, whether they might not look to him for a declaration against Christianity.¹ (3) The extraordinary resemblance between our Epistle and the Sermon on the Mount and other discourses of Jesus is most easily accounted for, if we suppose it to have been written by the brother of the Lord (p. xlii. foll. of my *Introduction*). Spitta labours to show that this resemblance is due to the fact that both borrow from older Jewish writings. Even if this were so, it would be far more probable that one of the two borrowed indirectly through the other than that they should both have chanced to collect, each for himself, the same sayings from a variety of obscure sources. But it is mere perversity to put forward such vague parallels as are adduced from rabbinical writings on the subject of oaths, for instance, or the perishable treasures of earth, by way of accounting for the exact resemblance existing between James v. 12 and Matthew v. 34-37, James v. 2, 3 and Matthew vi. 19.

As to the warning against oaths, Spitta has nothing to appeal to beyond the very general language of Ecclesiastes ix. 2, Sirac. xxiii. 9-11, Philo. M. 2, p. 194, in contrast to the literal agreement of James, "Above all things swear not, neither by the heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, lest ye fall into condemnation"; and Matthew, "Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king: neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." He suggests, however, that possibly the latter passage was

¹ Hegesippus in Eus., *H. E.*, ii. 23.

not really spoken by Christ at all, since He did not act upon it when adjured by the chief priest: it may have been a Jewish maxim in vogue at the time, which was incorporated in the Sermon on the Mount at a later period. Even if it were spoken by Christ, He may possibly have taken it from some Jewish source of which we have no record.

On the perishableness of earthly riches the agreement is not quite so close; still there is much more similarity between James' "Go to now, ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries which are coming upon you: your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth-eaten; your silver and your gold are rusted, and their rust shall be for a testimony against you, and shall eat your flesh as fire: ye have laid up your treasure in the last days"—there is, I say, much more similarity between this and Matthew's "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt," than there is between either of these and the passage from Enoch xcvi. 8-10 referred to by Spitta: "*Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness, yet say, We have increased in riches; we have possessions, and we have acquired everything we desire. And now let us do that which we purpose; for we have gathered silver, and our granaries are full, and plentiful as water are the husbandmen in our houses. And like water your lies will flow away; for riches will not abide with you, but will ascend suddenly from you; for ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness, and ye will be given over to a great condemnation.*"

It is, I think, unnecessary to go further. In almost every instance in which Spitta attempts to explain away parallels between our Epistle and the Gospels, which have been pointed out by commentators, his efforts seem to me to be scarcely less abortive than in the cases I have examined. The authenticity of the Epistle remains in my

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judgment alike impregnable to assault, whether it be urged from the pre-Christian or from the post-Apostolic side.

J. B. MAYOR.

ST. JOHN'S PARADOX CONCERNING THE DEAD.

(REVELATION XIV. 13.)

THIS is one of the most remarkable passages not only in the Apocalypse but in the Bible. It breaks a long reticence. The life of the disembodied soul had been hitherto almost ignored. Even the raptures of a Paul had centred mainly round a resurrection morning, when the dead should break their silence and resume their place in the universe. Here the silence has itself become vocal. The attention of the seer centres, not on the resurrection morning, but on that state of the soul which is popularly called disembodied, and, for the first time in Bible literature, the interest of the reader is solicited for those who are at present in the condition we name death.

I understand the passage to mean that at this particular epoch a change had taken place, not in the state of the departed dead, but in man's conception of that state. "Write, blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth. Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow with them." The suggestive word is to me the word "write." It is not that from henceforth the dead are to be more blessed, but that from henceforth we are to *think* of them as more blessed. It is really, as I understand it, "write from henceforth, blessed are the dead." It is the proclaiming of a new revelation on the subject, which is to be incorporated for the future with the sum of human knowledge. The books in which man records his thoughts of the departed are

henceforth to attribute to them even in their silence the possession of life and joy.

The idea of the passage, then, clearly is, that the blessedness of the dead proclaimed by Christianity is a new conception. To the Jew, the dead were not blessed. His views about a future life fluctuated; but even in the best of them he did not reach the notion that it is a happy state to be within the veil. Death was to him a penalty; the state of the dead was the bearing of a penalty. His hope for the departed was that they would come back again. If there were any among them whom at present he deemed privileged, it was those who were allowed to come back on a visit. He figured some of his greatest men as being permitted to return to earth in the form of other lives: John the Baptist, Elijah, Jeremiah, were supposed to have lived again in other forms. The fact that such a return could be deemed a privilege to the good is itself strongly suggestive of the Jewish view as to the state of the dead. The devout Christian believer who has lost a friend in his own fellowship would in the very moment of his anguish refuse to bring him back if he got the choice; I have put the question repeatedly in these circumstances. The devout Jew would have taken a different view of the matter. The change of sentiment can only be accounted for by a change of revelation. Something must have intervened to alter man's estimate of the condition called death. There must have come to him a moment in which he began to see from a new angle—an angle whose prospect reversed the first impression, and made the gloom, glory.

If we turn now to the Hindoo mind, we shall see a totally opposite association of death. To the devotee of ancient India the distinctive motto of life was "blessed are the dead." The most striking proof of this is its doctrine of transmigration. We have seen how in Judaism this doctrine took the form of a privilege to the good; here it

is a punishment to the bad. The desire of the Hindoo was that he might never come back. It was coming back that he was afraid of. He, like the Jew, believed in the possibility of the transmigration of souls—but with a difference. The Jew believed that it was possible for the good; the Hindoo held that it could befall only souls that were bad or imperfect. To the latter the reward of virtue was to be freed from earth. The blessedness of the departed good consisted in the certainty that they would never be compelled to return, that they had finally got rid of the present world, and would have no share in aught beneath the circle of the sun. The Hindoo worshipper could have said with St. John, “blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.”

And he could have gone still further in the approving quotation of this passage. Not only would he have held with St. John that the sainted dead are blessed; he would have agreed with him as to the reason of their blessedness, “that they may rest from their labours.” The beauty of death to the Hindoo was its quiescence; beyond all things he valued rest. What he disliked about this world was its constant round of action. His own nature was meditative. The passions of the crowd oppressed him. What the Western mind calls reality was to him illusion. The streets, and openings of the gates, the buying and selling, the marrying and giving in marriage, were to him the vain things of the imagination—the phantoms of sense which clogged the wings of the spirit. He wished to find repose from these. His most pleasing association of death was the hope of such repose. To get back to the bosom of the infinite calm, to be folded in the rest of that windless, waveless sea which he believed to lie beyond this turbulent scene of things, that was the aspiration which moulded his nights and days.

So far, then, there is an agreement between the Hindoo and the Christian conception of the state called death.

Both hold that the sainted dead are blessed ; both agree that their blessedness consists in rest. But from this point they part company, and unite no more. For St. John proceeds to make a remarkable addition to the statement—an addition which at first sight seems to contradict it, “their works follow with them.” This is the original reading. It does not mean, as our version would suggest, that the works follow the rest, but that they accompany it. It is the dead who are represented as following the Lamb, as in verse four. They are treading in the footsteps of the sacrificial life and are entering into rest. But St. John says it is a peculiar kind of rest—a rest which is accompanied by all their energies. Here is something radically different from the Hindoo conception. The blessedness of the dead is declared to lie in a rest which is distinct from quiescence, in a rest which involves work as a part of its being. It is no Nirvana, no dream-consciousness, no state of suspended animation. It is not simply a repose which is followed by an awaking ; it is a repose which is itself the ground of an increased vitality. It is a state of which St. John is not afraid to speak in contradictory terms. At one time he says, “they rest from their labours” ; at another, “they rest not day nor night.” He is not describing two experiences ; he is depicting two sides of the one shield. The sleep is with him the waking, the rest is the work, the end of labour is the beginning of service.

Now, this is a paradox, and it is a paradox peculiar to the religion of Christ. The ideal of the Hindoo mind, as we have seen, was quiescence ; rest came by excluding action. The ideal of the Jew was action ; the works of the law gave no room for rest. Here, the rest and the work are made one experience. It is no longer a matter of alternation. The sabbath does not follow the six stages of labour ; it accompanies them, it causes them. What is the root of such a conception ? Is there anything in the passage before

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us which would indicate its origin, which would suggest how it came into St. John's mind? It is St. John's mind that we want to know about. It is easy to philosophise on the matter. But in an expository essay the main question is, not what possible explanation can be given, but what was the solution of the problem entertained by the writer himself. In some cases we fail to find any clue to this, and are forced to content ourselves with conjecture. Have we any better guide here? Is there any indication in the terms of this statement, which can suggest to us that process of thought by which the seer arrived at a conclusion so paradoxical as the union of rest and work?

I think there is. I believe there are four little words which give a key to the whole subject and afford a glimpse into the mind of the author. These words are "yea, saith the Spirit." On a first view they are awkward. One does not see why they should be there. From a rhetorical point of view the verse would read better without them. They introduce a speaker where there is no room for a dialogue, and interrupt a sentence which, from the orator's standpoint, would have best run on. Why is this? Clearly because they are not spoken from the orator's standpoint at all. They are inserted as a note of explanation. They are put in by way of commentary. They are intended to throw light on a saying thoroughly new to that world, and conveying in its first utterance a sense of contradiction. Let us go on to read this comment.

St. John has been declaring that the blessedness of the dead consists in a rest which involves work. He remembers that he is stating something which to the common mind must seem a paradox. He hastens to defend himself, to show that his view is one of common sense. He reminds his readers that he is speaking of a peculiar kind of rest—the rest of the spirit. He tells them that the rest of the spirit is the opposite of the rest of the cemetery. The rest

of the cemetery is the cessation of being. By nature and by definition it is the inability to work. But the rest of the spirit is the reverse of this; it is that which disentombs the spirit, that which gives it *ability* to work. It comes not from a diminution, but from an increase of its vitality. Before the spirit reaches its rest, it is impeded in its movements; when in absolute unrest, it is said to be dead. The nearer it comes to a state of rest, the closer it approaches to a state of activity. Unrest is that which impedes the nature of anything. The unrest of a piece of matter is its movement; the unrest of a spirit is its want of movement. To remove the unrest of matter is to make it quiescent; to remove the unrest of spirit is to make it non-quiescent, to waken it into life. Masses of matter are made to move by collision, by pressure, by friction. But souls have their movement checked by these things. To give them force, they require the elimination of friction, the absence of collision. It is where they are undisturbed that they are most powerful; they work when they rest from their labours.

Let me remark that this peculiar view of the nature of spiritual rest—a view which is distinctively Christian, furnishes, in my opinion, the key to something which otherwise is a mystery. I allude to the fact that in the New Testament the state immediately after death is spoken of in two different ways: sometimes it is described as a sleep; at others as a consciousness of increased vivacity. It is not to be explained as the sentiments of different writers. There would be nothing strange in that. Even inspiration might well permit a difference of opinion on a problem not unveiled. But the remarkable thing is that the different views about death are not enumerated by separate writers. They are given forth by the same speaker almost at the same time. We find St. Paul in one breath proclaiming that death is a sleep, and in the next declaring that to die is gain, that to depart and be with Christ is far better, that

if the house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a more commodious building. We find a greater than St. Paul announcing at one moment the death of a Lazarus under the metaphor of sleep, and at another repudiating the notion that God can reign over unconscious lives: "God is not the God of the dead but of the living, for all live unto Him." How are we to account for this diversity of statement? Is there any bridge that can unite the two banks of the stream? I know of only one—the Christian conception of spiritual rest. The rest of the spirit is the bridge by which it passes over into action, into newness of life, into vivid power of unimpeded energy, into work proportionate to the declining sense of labour. Let me elucidate this point—not from philosophy, but from scripture.

The favourite description of the New Testament for the blessed dead is, "those who sleep in Christ." What does that mean? Why are they said to sleep in Christ? To indicate that they have entered into the same state as Christ. The heavenly state of Christ is described by John himself under the metaphor of a sleep. In one of the comments on his own gospel narrative he says that the only begotten Son "is in the bosom of the Father." It is the symbol of rest, repose. Christ is said to have now entered into the state of heavenly sleep—the restful sabbath of the soul. The metaphor is all the more striking because in this instance it has not been suggested by death at all. Christ has not come to it by the gate of death, but by the gate of ascension. He has come to it, not because it is involved in dying, but because it is involved in heaven. It is not the prerogative of a worn-out body, but of a fresh mind. It is not the climax of exhaustion, but the culmination of glory. It would be reached by the beatified spirit though there were no such thing as death. All this is implied in the simile that Christ reposes in the bosom of the Father.

But now, still keeping St. John in our mind, let us go a step further. At the very moment when he is conceiving Christ as reposing on the bosom of the Father, Christ is to him the most active force in this universe. Not only so, Christ is by him at that moment conceived as having attained an increased activity by reason of His reclining or reposing attitude. What else is the meaning of these mysterious words which he has reported from the lips of the Master, "greater works than these shall ye do because I go unto My Father"? He means that the repose of the spirit has given the Son of Man wings, that He is better able to work *for* us and *in* us now than He was in the days of His flesh, that the calm peace of satisfaction has nerved Him further for the travail of the soul, that His rest has become His crown. It is this, and nothing less than this, that breaks forth in St. John's record of the Master's words, "if ye loved Me, ye would rejoice because I go unto the Father," "cling to Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father," "if I go not away, the Comforter cannot come." It is the Son of Man's experience of the universal law that the spirit's power comes only with the spirit's peace, and that the heart which can shed itself most widely is the heart which has found repose.

To sleep in Christ, then, is to sleep as Christ sleeps—not on the bosom of Nirvana, but on the bosom of the Father. It is to lose, not consciousness nor self-consciousness, but the consciousness of self—of limitation, of restriction. It is to become oblivious of the sense of weight and weariness. It is the sense of weight and weariness that here below prevents our works from keeping pace with us. They lag behind. Most of our projects are never begun, all our undertakings are unfinished. It is not rest that kills work; it is unrest. The moment when the hand is most effectual is the moment when the mind has least friction. When our cares are awake, our arm sleeps.

Something must come to lull the cares if the work is to keep pace with the thought. Therefore it is that to St. John the future life is not a miracle, but something which annuls a miracle. It is not a supernatural state, but a state which restores the broken law of nature. It is the present life which has interrupted the natural order. Man has an ideal beyond his capacity. He has a work to do which he cannot finish; he leaves it behind him on the wayside. Another life must take it up and carry it through. Another state of being must restore the balance between the demand for outward service and the power to supply it. Here the human soul is restless ere it begins its toil; it has not a fresh start even in the morning. There must be found an environment for man in which rest shall be itself the starting point, and the movement of the hand shall be accelerated by the unruffled repose of the spirit.

GEORGE MATHESON.

*THE BOOK OF JOB AND ITS LATEST
COMMENTATOR.*

PART II.

THE text of Job as presented to us by Prof. Budde differs in very many points from the Massoretic, and if not the best that we may reasonably hope to get, yet supplies a far better basis for criticism and exegesis than we have hitherto had. The exegetical results of the author must for the most part be left here untouched. It is necessary, however, to give a sketch of the view of the origin of the Book of Job which the introduction to the present work supplies. It is to a certain extent retrogressive criticism which it gives us. Prof. Budde thinks that critics have been too analytic, and that it is desirable, after reviewing the subject in a more or less new light, to return to the belief in the

organic unity of the Book of Job. He defends his position with a fertility of resource, and occasionally a subtlety of argument, which even those who are unconvinced will admire and enjoy; and, as a set-off to the retrogressive element in his criticism, he is as much convinced as any one that the book was written (he will not let me say composed) after the Exile.

There existed a written account of the story of Job (a *Volksbuch*) at the close of the pre-exilic period; this is implied by Ezekiel's mention of Job in xiv. 14, 20. The name Job (אִיּוֹב) is obscure; but I have noticed the name Ayāb (apparently Palestinian) in Winckler's edition of the Amarna texts (237, 6.13). At any rate, Noah and Job are referred to by Ezekiel in quite the same terms, and no one doubts that the traditional story of Noah was in Ezekiel's hands. Budde even thinks that the third of Ezekiel's heroes—Daniel—must have been known to Ezekiel from some written document, though the date of Daniel according to this document cannot have been that which our Book of Daniel specifies. In a footnote he rejects without discussion Halévy's view that the names Daniel and Job in Ezekiel are simply corruptions of the names Enoch and Enos in the Sethite table in Genesis. Here I must ask leave to differ from him so far as Enoch is concerned. Elsewhere I hope to show that דְּנִאֵל is most probably a corruption of דְּנִיֵּץ, though I am far from holding with Halévy that אִיּוֹב is a corruption of אֲנִישׁ, and I am not surprised that Budde was repelled by Halévy's dogmatism. What did this folk-tale of Job contain? Different views are held; the author, however, is of opinion that all that is essential in Job i. 1–ii. 10 (except the statement that Job had not in any of his words fallen into sin) and in xlii. 10–17 (except the second part of v. 10) may have belonged to the folk-tale. What the poet did, according to Budde, was to insert his own composition (really the word must in

English be allowed) between the two parts of the folk-tale, and well fasten the whole together. The story itself, which I do not understand Budde to regard as founded upon fact, may have come from abroad, and it is natural to think of Edom (so famous for wisdom) as the most probable source. The poet who adopted it was a travelled man, and completely master of the culture of his time. As Goethe did with the folk-tale of *Faust*, he used the familiar story as the framework for his highest thoughts and noblest poetry. And here the question meets us, Is it true that only two authors have joined in producing our Book of Job, viz., the people (represented by some unknown scribe) on the one hand and the poet on the other, or may the work of the latter have been retouched, expanded, and added to by other writers? The decision, says Budde, is specially difficult because in most cases the doubts of critics have arisen out of nothing but a definite view of the connection of thought and of the poet's intended solution of the question treated of—a view which is necessarily subjective and disputable. The sketch of the present position of criticism given in the introduction must, of course, be supplemented by the remarks given at the proper points in the commentary, and also by Budde's earlier work, *Contributions to the Criticism of the Book of Job*¹ (Bonn, 1876), and by an essay or dissertation to which reference will be made later.

1. As to the Prologue and Epilogue, Budde believes that the doubts as to their having formed an integral part of the original work are unnecessary. It is true, however (as described above), that the narrative originally existed without the speeches. Naturally the poet sought to adapt his own writing to it to the best of his ability. Perhaps I may

Beiträge zur Kritik des Buches Hiob. Part I. relates to recent criticism and the idea of the Book of Job, and Part II. to the linguistic character of the speeches of Elihu.

venture to say that I now fully admit that the Epilogue as well as the Prologue belonged to the (second) Book of Job. Budde's belief in an earlier *Volksbuch* has of course long been my own.

2. In the speeches of Job himself, some passages have been thought to be inconsistent with Job's expressed ideas, or to interrupt the development of his thought to such an extent that they either needed to be cut out or to be placed at some other point or to be assigned to other speakers. (a) The difficulties connected with chaps xxvii., xxviii., Budde seeks (skilfully enough) to overcome by placing xxvii. 7 (a very difficult verse) after vv. 8-10, by omitting from chap. xxviii. nine somewhat rhetorical distichs which can well be dispensed with, and by a subtle discussion of the connection implied in the particle 'פ, "for," which opens the chapter on Wisdom. Briefly, he thinks that chap. xxvii. brings out more glaringly than ever the incapacity alike of Job and of his friends to solve the problem of his sufferings, and that by prefixing to chap. xxviii. the particle referred to, Job means to say, "Your inability, O my friends, and my own, to solve my enigma comes from the fact that wisdom is reserved by God for Himself; what He has given to man under this name is a practical substitute for wisdom—not wisdom itself." Those who would appreciate Budde's capacity for subtle and delicate reasoning should read the essay in the well-known magazine of Old Testament lore, edited by Stade, vol. ii. (1882) pp. 193-274. One is tempted to wish that his great gifts of exposition could be devoted to a poem less compassed with critical controversy than Job. What a fine Shakespeare commentator he would have made!

(b) The difficulty caused by the want of a third speech of Zophar, and by the extreme shortness of the third speech of Bildad, has led some critics to transfer portions of Job's long speech in chaps. xxvi.-xxviii. to these two interlo-

cutors. Budde, however, offers reasons for not venturing on this step, and is content to accept the phenomena (the word seems to me appropriate) as he finds them. The argumentative break-down of the three friends is thus forcibly brought out by the poet. And "a striking proof that the poet meant the speech of Bildad to be as it now stands is also furnished by the introduction of the following speech of Job" (xxvi. 2-4).

(c) The speeches of Elihu have been generally regarded as a late insertion even by those who in other respects were conservative critics. But Budde seems to have produced a considerable impression by that early work to which I have referred, and which shows by statistics that these speeches have linguistically many more points of contact with the other parts of the book than has been generally supposed. He is, in fact, not altogether isolated in the views which he holds. Possibly enough he will make some more converts by his treatment of Elihu in the present work, in which, by correcting textual errors and removing probable interpolations, he has certainly given an improved basis to his earlier critical view that chaps. xxxii.-xxxvii. belonged to the original poem. It will no doubt impress some readers that, after twenty years of further study, he is still able to say that the connection of the speeches with the rest of the book is perfect. Budde even tells us (and his argument is vigorous, if not to myself convincing) that the poet wrote these words at the end of the last speech of Job,—“The words of Job were at an end, and those three men ceased answering Job because he was righteous in his own eyes.” Into Budde’s arguments I cannot here enter. I could wish to find some point of contact with him, but, except in the textual criticism of these chapters, I do not know where to find it. But I think that I can admire and receive wholesome stimulus from much with which I do not agree.

(d) The speeches of Jehovah (Yahwè) have also been

questioned by some scholars. No one, however, has failed to recognise their manifold beauties, and the position of the separatists is here much weaker than in the speeches of Elihu. All depends on the view formed by the critic as to the object of the original poet and the importance of consistency in essentials, and the present writer would be perfectly contented with the admission that chaps. xxxviii.-xlii. 6 formed no part of the original poem. The poet may, in fact, like Goethe, have kept his poem by him, and made later insertions which by no means harmonize with his original plan. We, with our modern ideas, are naturally inclined to suppose a Hebrew poet to have had little else to do than to touch up his poem. I quite understand this, though critical sobriety seems to me to be somewhat deficient in such a theory.

(e) The description of the two monsters Behemoth and Leviathan (xl. 15-xli. 34) must, at any rate, as most critics have held, be denied to the author of the original poem, and, as the text has come down to us, he can hardly be thought to have lost much. Budde, however, has done much to make a conservative view more possible. First of all, he rearranges a good deal, placing xl. 15 ff. after xxxix. 30, and xl. 2, 8-14 after the Leviathan passage (see below). Next, he has revised the text very carefully, continuing the work of his predecessors. Next, he has made it plausible to hold that the strangest part of the whole disputed passage (A.V. xli. 12-34) is a later insertion. In this case the contrast between the picture of the monsters and the delightful descriptions of natural objects which have preceded still remains, but it has become less glaring, and Budde would, I think, deny its existence. And the verses in which, according to Budde, the speaker turns to Job to impress the lesson of Leviathan (*i.e.* xli. 9-11) become a suitable conclusion of the whole Leviathan-passage. I must here beg permission to criticise the author's views

somewhat more freely. I accept Gunkel's and Budde's correction of xli. 9a, 11a (= Heb. xli. 1a, 3a). But, like Gunkel, I fail to see that this correction involves the excision of the rest of the Leviathan passage. The appearance of Behemoth is minutely described; why should not Leviathan's be so too? It is true that xli. 2, 8-14 comes in very well according to Budde's new arrangement (see above), but the words,—

"Who has uncovered the face of his garment?
Or who can venture into his double jaw?"—

are an appropriate continuation of xli. 9-11, if we only use Gunkel's clue to their meaning.

It is true that Gunkel's readings are bold, but they take due account of the habits of scribes, and the text is undeniably corrupt. Budde himself questions *לֹא אֶכֹּר* in xli. 2 (Heb.), and admits the corruptness of parts of *vv.* 1, 3, 4. I will not follow Gunkel altogether. In *v.* 1b I prefer to read *נִם אֱלִים מֵרֵאִי יִטִּיל* (cf. xli. 17, Heb.), and at the beginning of *v.* 2, *מִלְאֲךָ יִשְׁעֶךָ*; and in *v.* 3, *וַיִּשְׁלֶם, הִקְדִּימוּ*, and (for *לִי הוּא*) *לֹא אֶחָד*. Thus a far more acceptable sense than Budde's can perhaps be obtained,—

"Surely thy self-confidence proves itself vain;
Even divine beings his fear lays low.
An angel shudders when he would arouse him;¹
Who then (among mortals) would dare to mee him as a foe?
Who ever confronted him and came off safe?
Under the whole heaven not one."

After *vv.* 1-3 had become corrupted and so misunderstood, *v.* 4 was inserted as a link between what was supposed to be an aside of Jehovah and the following description.

But even accepting Budde's shortened form of the Leviathan passage, and admitting that it does not seem so

¹ Cf. the references to angels with special ministries in Job iii. 8, xv. 24, xxxiii. 23; Eccles. v. 6.

far removed from the usual manner of the speeches of Jehovah as the excised passage, can we therefore assign it to the writer of these speeches? What of the description of Behemoth? Can the writer of xxxix. 19-25 have written xl. 15-18? I trow not.

I believe that Budde's assignment of the Behemoth and Leviathan passages to the poet of Job is a great mistake. But I only criticise him thus because he has connected with his theory a very trenchant criticism of a writer to whom archæological criticism is, as I conceive, under great obligations. I have elsewhere pointed out¹ what I think grievous faults both in the theories of Gunkel and in his treatment of other scholars (including Budde and myself). But I am convinced that he is on the right lines, and Budde's attitude towards him is, I think, deeply to be regretted. In a word, the Book of Job is a monument, as I have been among the first to show, of that revival of mythology among the Jews which marks the Exilic and post-Exilic periods. Rahab and Leviathan are two of the names of the dragon of chaos and darkness who, with other monsters, opposed the God of light and order, and whose destruction was the initial act of creation. The Babylonian myth, as all who will may know, is the chief source of the purified cosmogony in Gen. i.; it has also affected, more or less distinctly, other Old Testament passages, including Job iii. 8, vii. 12, ix. 13, xxvi. 12, 13 (cf. Part I. of this article), and strong reason has to be shown why Behemoth and Leviathan in Job xl.-xli. should not be regarded as pale reflexions of the original mythic monsters. I have no desire to deny that Behemoth and Leviathan are to the poet monsters which exist somewhere, and that, never having seen them himself, he adopts

¹ See *Critical Review*, July, 1895; *Academy*, April 27, 1895. I wish that Budde could have transferred his controversy with Gunkel to a periodical. This book loses much by its too controversial spirit.

features from the two huge creatures of the Nile—the hippopotamus and the crocodile. But if he had meant to introduce these animals, apart from any mythic reference, just as he (or another poet) introduces the horse and the wild goat, he would have given them proper descriptive names. The former he would probably have called “the swine of the Nile” (“the swine from the Nile”¹ actually occurs, according to Ginsburg and Grätz, in Ps. lxxx. 14). The latter he would have been puzzled how to describe;² perhaps he would have called it בִּיָּאֵר. The view of Budde, Ewald, and most recent critics, that Behemoth is a Hebraized form of *p-ehe-môu*,³ “water-ox,” is a mere fancy. Few have taken the trouble to look up the work (republished in *Opera*, i. 52) in which Jablonski († 1757) first proposed it. Had they done so, they would have hesitated to commit themselves to this uncritical scholar’s guidance. The derivation of Behemoth from a falsely imagined Egyptian word (which, by the way, leaves the final letter of Behemoth unaccounted for) is not the only specimen of Jablonski’s misdirected acuteness. But I need not build too much on the impression which Jablonski’s writings have produced upon me. Feeling the responsibility of setting myself in opposition to a consensus of the most able critics of the day, I applied to Sir P. le Page Renouf and Dr. Budge for their opinions. Both Egyptologists agree with F. C. Cook in the *Speaker’s Commentary*, and regard Jablonski’s theory as baseless. “Neither Jablonski nor Ewald,” wrote the former, “had more than a smattering

¹ Reading בִּיָּאֵר for בִּיָּאֵר. The original text had בִּיָּר; ע and א were sometimes omitted by Hebrew writers (Ginsburg, *Introd. to Masoretic-critical Bible*, pp. 338 ff.).

² The Talmud invents the form קְרוֹכַמַּל = *κροκόδειλος* (Delitzsch).

³ Prof. Davidson attaches a final *t* (*Job*, p. 279). This is defended by Delitzsch (*Jesaja*, p. 331) as the affixed feminine article. Lepsius, however, remarks (Herzog-Plitt, *Prot. Realenc.*, i. 169) that the termination *-th* in Behemoth is difficult to explain on Jablonski’s theory. Nor is there any reason why a female hippopotamus should be referred to.

of Coptic, and they knew absolutely nothing of the older forms of the language." Birch, to whom students owe so deep a debt, sought for a sounder view. "He wanted to find Behemoth in a group of characters which he read *Bekhama*. The word, which undoubtedly means hippopotamus, is to be read Kheb (Heb). Birch justified his meaning. . . . But when fresh texts were published, the variants settled the question." Jablonski, however, had made no attempt to discover an Egyptian name for the crocodile in Job xli. This was reserved for Ewald, who, in his Hebrew Grammar (7th ed., p. 791), made this remark in a footnote, "May the unusual omission of the interrogative ׀ before תַּמְשַׁךְ (xl. 25) have been designed to bring out a play upon the Egyptian word for the crocodile *temsah*, which passed over into Arabic as *timsah*?" Delitzsch adopted this, substituting the more defensible *p-emsah* for *temsah*, and Budde even thinks that the poet actually wrote the word which in Arabic means crocodile, and that this produced תַּמְשַׁךְ תַּמְשַׁךְ, *i.e.* the same group of letters written twice over, but with a different meaning; he suggests further that a scribe, unacquainted with the word *timsah* (?), left out the second תַּמְשַׁךְ as a mere repetition, and substituted לֵיִתָן, Leviathan. This took place, he adds, before Ps. civ. 26 was written, since that passage alludes (but is this at all certain?) to our passage. Now it can be no discredit to err in the company of Ewald and Delitzsch. All this is a mere fancy, and, as I am assured, and believe too that I can see for myself, an impossible one. Sir P. le Page Renouf writes: "The Egyptian for crocodile is *m̄-s-h-u*, and is of the masculine gender. The Arabic, if it has really been borrowed, has been treated as if it were a native word, without any regard to its true etymology. There is no reason for dating the borrowing, if borrowing there was, at an earlier period than the Saracen conquest. The preformative *ti* never could have come from an

Egyptian source, and to an Egyptian scholar a preformative *pi* would be quite as ridiculous." I may say that the only names I mentioned to my informants were those of Jablonski and Ewald. I am bound to add that I do not believe that Prof. Budde would have followed Ewald (by no means the safest guide in philology) except under the pressure of strong necessity.¹

Perhaps, as I have unwillingly objected to Prof. Budde's philology as on these two points extravagant, I ought to say that Gunkel (whom as an ally, with all his faults, I value greatly) has ventured on this very wild rendering of Ps. xl. 5, "Happy is the man who makes Jehovah his confidence, and does not turn to the Rahabs" (*i.e.* Rahab the dragon and his "helpers"—see Job ix. 13, R.V.). The *ἀπ. λεγ.*, *יִרְאֵה* (E.V., the proud) is, as Giesebrecht has pointed out, a corruption of *יִבְלֵה*, "vanities," *i.e.* idols (LXX., *ματαιότητας*); cf. Ps. xxxi. 7. There are many such errors in the text of the Psalms. Controversial need—nothing else—suggested Gunkel's wild idea.

To return to Behemoth and Leviathan. No one now questions that there are elements in the descriptions which remind us of the hippopotamus and the crocodile. That was only to be expected. How could a poet describe the monsters of an imperfectly known mythology without filling up the gaps in his account from some visible creatures? He naturally chose the hippopotamus and the crocodile, which were both closely connected in Egypt with the powers of evil. In primeval times these Typhonian monsters had opposed the good god Osiris, and they still continued to lie in wait for Ra, the sun-god, as he sailed the heavenly ocean. Nothing was more real to educated Egyptians than this; and if it was

¹ I do not myself deny the possible connection of Ar. *timsūh* with Egypt. *em-suh*. The Arabs might prefix *t*, just as Herodotus prefixes *χ* ("they are called, not crocodiles, but *χάμψαι*," Herod. ii. 69).

known to Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.*, 50), we may well believe that it was familiar to the later Jewish wise men. Positive proof of this familiarity does not, it is true, exist (apart from Job xl.) with regard to the hippopotamus, but we have it for the crocodile as a symbol of the powers of evil in Ezek. xxix. 3-6a, xxxii. 2-8 (note, in passing, the parallelism, real though imperfect, between Ezek. xxix. 4a and Job xli. 2a), and Ps. Solom. ii. 28b-34.

But, while frankly conceding that Behemoth and Leviathan may, up to a certain extent, be identified with the hippopotamus and the crocodile, it must be maintained that they are not the ordinary creatures which bear these names. If in 1887 I slightly underrated the element of actuality in the poet's descriptions,¹ it must, I fear, be stated that Budde overrates it, and that this error is the more unfortunate one. It was right to refer to the Egyptian monuments for parallels to Behemoth and Leviathan; only I should have looked, not to purely fantastic forms (griffins and the like), but to the idealization of the ordinary monsters of the Nile in the mythic narratives of Ra and Osiris. There are supernatural as well as natural hippopotamuses and crocodiles, and it is a specimen of these which the poet has given us. The descriptions are hyperbolic² and unpleasing if referred to the real monsters of the Nile; they are not so if explained of the "children of defeat," with the dragon Apópi at their head,³ which the poet, by a fusion natural to the times, identifies with the monsters of Babylonian

¹ *Job and Solomon*, pp. 56, 57.

² I am afraid Prof. Budde is under a misapprehension. Prof. Spiegelberg's quotation from the triumphal ode addressed to Thothmes III. (known to most through Brugsch's *Hist. of Egypt*) does not justify the question supposed to be put by Jehovah to Job, whether he can catch Leviathan. I have long admired this fine ode, but am surprised to find it used to prove that Job could be asked a question which, if he knew Egypt, he would answer in the affirmative.

³ I have collected abundant evidence; it is enough, however, to refer the reader to the *Book of the Dead* and to Maspero's *Struggle of the Nations*.

origin, called elsewhere Rahab and his helpers (Job viii. 13). And even in the uncorrected but still more in the corrected text there are expressions and statements which are hardly explicable except on the mythological theory.

That Leviathan is a mythological monster—the Tiāmat of Babylonia—is clear from Isa. xxvii. 1, Ps. lxxiv. 14, Job iii. 8; that Behemoth is another, we learn from Job xl., Enoch lx. 7-9, 4 Esdr. vi. 49-52. In saying this, I lay myself open to be regarded as a follower of Budde's *bête noire*—Gunkel. That is not the case; Gunkel has supplemented the work of his predecessors, who are entitled to take what suits them from him, and to leave the rest. Time forbids me to criticise Gunkel here, but I see no reason to deny that among other grounds of an exceptional character the writers of Enoch lx. and 4 Esdr. vi. drew, though very indirectly, from a Babylonian or Egyptian source. Certainly such a theory seems necessary to account for Job xl. 19^b, if the proposed correction be accepted.¹

But enough of this. The reader to whom these things are unfamiliar may by this time be weary. I break off, therefore, with the request that he will look further, and then return to these remarks. Whatever result he ultimately arrives at will have ulterior critical and exegetical consequences. For my part, I have fully faced them, and I find them not grievous to be borne. For instance, even if the passages on Behemoth and Leviathan are later additions, are they therefore, from a Hebrew point of view, unedifying? I regret extremely that Prof. Budde, who has done so much to advance the criticism of the historical

¹ Dendain (connected by Zimmern with Ass. *danninu*, "earth"), the name of the desert where Behemoth dwells in Enoch lx., suggests an ultimate Babylonian source for Enoch. But an Egyptian is equally possible for Job xl. 19. Set, with whom the hippopotamus is identified, is the Egyptian god of the desert.

books, should have shown so strange an unprogressiveness in this and other parts of the criticism of Job.

An important section of the introduction deals with the object or purpose of the poet. With the opening sentence I heartily concur. "The surest opinion which can be stated is, that the poet had not the same purpose as the written folk-tale which he utilised." I think it would be worth some one's while to translate this section for some theological review. It is a fine piece of work, revealing some of the author's most interesting characteristics, and giving a view of the book which, if not correct, is yet worthy of a great poet. I fear to condense its contents, for, while not yielding to the author in the love of literature in general and of the Book of Job in particular, I do not share his critical presuppositions, and may easily misapprehend him.

Two more sections remain, relating respectively to the period when the book was written, and to the condition of the text. The date of the book is placed about 400 B.C. Earlier it can hardly be; the possibility of a later date depends on the result of certain discussions which are still unfinished or have even not yet begun. The date of Prov. i.-ix. is still unsettled, and, though we have a fragment of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, we do not yet know with precision what conclusions for the history of the Hebrew language have to be drawn from it. This is true. But if Job xxviii. is later than Prov. viii. (so Budde), it seems to me at present scarcely possible to place this chapter in the Persian period.

The due consideration of the last section would carry us too far. It is excellent and full of instruction, and can therefore, though on at least one point¹ it seems open to criticism, be highly recommended. Once more, many thanks are due to

¹ See the opening pages of Part I. of this article.

Prof. Budde for this original and suggestive commentary, which, even when it does not convince us, seldom fails to place the subject in a new light, and in textual criticism marks a turning-point.

T. K. CHEYNE.

THE SIGN OF THE PROPHET JONAS.

NOT one of us probably can remember a time when he was not conscious of an internal protest against the interpretation which is to be found in all commentaries of the words in which our Lord speaks of the sign of the prophet Jonas. It has been clearly impossible to accept it, because three days and three nights did not intervene between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection—and yet, if we must needs reject it, what other could we adopt? There seemed to be no alternative. For the violent course suggested by some, to assume the words about “the fish’s belly” and “the heart of the earth” to be a later interpolation, was manifestly inadmissible, and even if it were otherwise the difficulty would remain the same.

The object of the present paper is to consider the question, whether there is really no alternative; whether there is not another interpretation both possible and probable, which is simple and free from difficulty.

The difficulties which attend the interpretation of our Lord’s words with reference to the comparison between Himself and the prophet Jonah, difficulties which are by no means confined to the period of three days and three nights, are of course wholly distinct from any difficulties which beset the narrative in the book of Jonah itself; and into these last we do not now propose to enter at all.

There are two passages in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and one in that of St. Luke, in which our Lord is said to have referred to the prophet Jonah. If we would rightly understand what is meant by the sign of the prophet Jonas, we must consider all three. But the first of the three is wholly distinct from the other two, and may well be studied first. It is, moreover, the only one in which any allusion is made to the fish, or to the three days and three nights, and it stands quite apart by itself.

This first passage is in St. Matthew xii. 38-40: "Then certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a sign from Thee. But He answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas: for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." It will be observed that it is not said here that Jonah himself, or anything which occurred in his life, was a sign to any one. But it is clearly implied that something was to occur with reference to the Son of man, which would be of the nature of a sign to the Scribes and Pharisees, and which would resemble in certain points the incident related in the book of Jonah. And the points of resemblance are, first and chiefly, the duration of time in each case, three days and three nights; and then the fact that this time was spent in the one case in the whale's belly, and in the other in whatever is indicated by the expression "the heart of the earth."

Two interpretations have been current of the words which our Lord uses with reference to Himself. One, which is by far the most popular, and which is in fact perhaps taken for granted by most people as the only one, is that which supposes Him to refer to His body resting in the grave, so that, according to this, "the heart of the earth"

means the sepulchre. The other, not nearly so well known, but with many authorities in its favour, interprets the words of our Lord's sojourn in Hades. This last is the view taken by Alford; and Meyer, who also adopts it, quotes in its support Tertullian, Irenæus, Theophylact, Bellarmine, Maldonatus, and among more recent writers Olshausen, König, and Kahnis.

But the advocates of both these interpretations are compelled to give them up the moment they have stated them. It being impossible to suppose that either the repose of the Lord's body in the grave, or His own "personal descent into the place of departed souls," could be a sign to the Scribes and Pharisees; they make the sign consist in neither the one nor the other, but in the resurrection out of both! Alford says plainly, "The sign of Jonas is the most remarkable foreshadowing in the Old Testament of *the Resurrection of our Lord*." Meyer says, "Dieses Schicksal war allerdings eine Strafe und Wiederbegnadigung des Propheten, aber auch ein Zeichen, nämlich, für die Nachwelt *durch den Antitypus der Auferstehung Christi*," and, with some naïveté, he adds in the same note that, just as Jesus had on other occasions "nur Dunkel seine Auferstehung vorhergesagt, nicht geradezu und ausdrücklich, so ist sie auch (v. 40) nicht geradezu ausgesprochen." And Bengel interprets the sign thus: "Jonas tum non est mortuus; sed tamen tam non creditus est redux fore a pisce, quam Jesus ex corde terræ. At rediit et ille et hic." Yet the Resurrection is not even dimly alluded to in the words of Jesus; and is it to be believed that if the Resurrection were the sign which He really meant, He would have left it wholly unmentioned, laying emphasis at the same time upon the three days and three nights of the sepulchre or of Hades, neither of which could in itself be any sign at all? And yet this difficulty is unavoidable if either of these interpretations be adopted, for the Resurrection must be

brought in to give any force whatever to the words used by our Lord. That is to say, these conventional interpretations compel us to add something of our own to the words of Jesus, in order to give any intelligible meaning to the language which He uses; and to lay the chief emphasis of the whole upon that which He Himself does not even mention at all.

But further, if we are to understand, according to the most current interpretation, that Jesus is speaking of three days and three nights in the sepulchre, is it possible to describe the "new tomb, hewn out in the rock," as "the heart of the earth." The grave would seem to have been not even beneath the surface of the ground. Alford, surely with good reason, points out that probably "it was not cut downwards after the manner of a grave with us, but horizontally, or nearly so, into the face of the rock." And in this manner it has been, as a rule, represented in pictures. But can the expression, "the heart of the earth" point to anything like this? Bengel, it is true, begs us not to be too scrupulous about this. "*Medium sive cor terræ non debet præcise quæri; sed opponitur ipsi terræ, in quâ plus quam triginta annos versatus est Christus.*" But who can read this explanation without a smile?

Nor are we any better off if we adopt the other interpretation, and suppose that our Lord refers here to "the place of departed spirits." There is nothing in the expression, "heart of the earth," which even points to this. Such passages as Numbers xvi. 30, 33, and Job xi. 8, which are usually quoted in support of this view, clearly prove nothing. Nor can any passage of Scripture be quoted, in which such an expression is used in such a sense. It is true that Tertullian, discussing (*De Anima*, c. 54, 55) the question to what place the spirits of the departed go when they leave this present life, refers in passing to the words

of Christ "in the heart of the earth," and adds, "id est in recessu intimo et interno et in ipsâ terrâ operto et intra ipsam cavato et inferioribus adhuc abyssis superstructo." But this is no proof that even Tertullian would have used such words as these, simply by themselves, and without anything in the context to indicate such a meaning, in the sense of the place of departed spirits. Nor can we suppose that Jesus, speaking of the sign of the Son of Man, which, to be a sign at all, must surely carry with it some clear significance, would use an expression so doubtful and obscure as this, and not rather language such as He actually used, when He said of the rich man that "*in Hades* he lifts up his eyes," and to the thief on the cross, "To-day shalt thou be with Me *in Paradise*."

But even if these difficulties were not already sufficient to make it impossible to adopt either of these interpretations, the period of time mentioned by our Lord, and upon which He lays such special emphasis, would still be a rock upon which both must be fatally wrecked. For the advocates of both of them have to explain in what sense the interval between Friday evening and Sunday morning at early dawn can be called "three days and three nights." Some of them indeed, implicitly admitting that explanation, in any serious sense, is impossible, decline to make any real attempt to give one, putting the question contemptuously aside as unworthy of consideration. Thus Alford says, "If it be necessary to deal with a matter so frivolous as the making good of the three days and nights during which the Lord was in the heart of the earth, it must be done by having recourse to the Jewish method of computing time. "And so Stier, "The refutation of the trifling and presumptuous after-reckoning of the three days and nights belongs only to a note." And Olshausen seems to consider that it would be almost a pity if there *were* too satisfactory an explanation, and bravely says, "The Holy Scriptures would

altogether miss their aim if, by mathematical precision and strictness, they would compel belief."

But all these writers fail to notice that though the duration of time in each case may seem to be a trifling detail, it is at all events the exact point of comparison upon which our Lord fixes attention. He does not say, "As Jonas was in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth," but "As Jonas was three days and three nights, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights." Therefore this question, so far from being "frivolous," is of the very first importance in attempting the interpretation of the words of our Lord.

The question is always dealt with, so far as it can be said to be dealt with at all, in the manner recommended by Alford. If an explanation has to be given, "it must be done by having recourse to the Jewish method of computing time." Of course it must, for that must have been the method used by our Lord. Now what was this method? In every passage which can be quoted from the Bible, the language used is similar to that which we use ourselves, and which any one, *εἰ μὴ θέσιν διαφυλάττων*, would suppose to be used here. They said, as we say, "Three days and three nights," if that were the period of time they wished to indicate, and they meant simply and exactly what they said. There is no instance whatever of any other kind. But S. Paul, saying in 2 Corinthians xi. 25, "A night and a day I have been in the deep," uses the compound word *νυχθήμερον*, which occurs nowhere else, but which carries its meaning upon its face. And in the Jerusalem Talmud mention is made of a Hebrew word *Onah*, which does not occur in the Bible, but which means some space of time. Lightfoot quotes from a Hebrew tract, "Schabbath," these words, "How much is the space of an Onah? R. Jochanan saith, Either a day or a night." And then he continues from the Jerusalem Talmud, "R. Akiba fixed a day for an

Onah, and a night for an Onah : but the tradition is that R. Eleazar Ben Azariah said, A day and a night make an Onah, and a part of an Onah is as the whole." And, "R. Ismael computed a part of the Onah for the whole." Lightfoot goes on, "It is not easy to translate the word Onah into good Latin, for to some it is the same with the half of a natural day; to some it is all one with *νυχθήμερον*, a whole natural day." This is the foundation, and the *whole* foundation, upon which the popular interpretation of the words of our Lord rests. On the strength of this single passage in the Jerusalem Talmud, which is itself only a statement of conflicting opinions, we are asked to put upon the words of Jesus in this verse a construction which we never think of putting upon any similar words in any other passage of Scripture whatever, a construction which every one feels to be strained and artificial in the extreme. We are asked to assume that He had in His mind, as He spoke, this peculiar expression of the Talmud, that He took sides with one set of doctors against another in its use, and that He spoke so completely as a partisan that He even adopted their theory of treating a very small fraction as if it were the whole, and, when the great point of the moment was exactness in the statement of time, used the words, "three days and three nights," when He meant two nights and a day.

It may in fact safely be said that there never would have been any doubt in any one's mind that the words of our Lord, when He said, "three days and three nights," mean exactly what to the ordinary reader they must seem to mean, if it had not been for the supposed necessity of making them square with the time which elapsed between His death upon the Cross and His resurrection on Easter morning. In other words, the difficulty of the three days and three nights is created solely by the interpretation put upon the expression, "the heart of the

earth." It is, therefore, upon this phrase that we should in the first place fix our whole attention. The more so as we have already seen that neither of the current interpretations assigns to it any satisfactory meaning.

The exact expression, "heart of the earth," we find only in this passage. But in "the prayer of Jonah" (c. ii. 3), there occur the words, "Thou hadst cast me into the deep, in the heart of the seas; and the floods compassed me about." And in 2 Samuel xviii. 14 it is said that Joab thrust three darts through the heart of Absalom, "while he was yet alive in the heart of the oak." And in Ezekiel xxvii. 4 it is said to Tyrus, "Thy borders are in the heart of the seas." The meaning is quite plain. That which is in the heart of anything is in its centre, surrounded by it, covered by it, hidden within it. The heart of the earth must be buried within it, in its very depths, out of sight, too deep for man to fathom. But in the Old Testament we most frequently find this thought expressed, in connexion with the earth, by the word *takhtiyôth*, which literally means "depth," whatever is deep, far down, beneath everything else. And, "as the heaven is high above the earth," the depths of the earth came to mean the utmost limit of descent, whatever is lowest in creation, as heaven is the highest. This is clearly its meaning in Isaiah xlv. 23, "Sing, O ye heavens; for the Lord hath done it; shout, ye lower parts of the earth." The same word is used in Psalm cxxxix. 15, "My substance was not hid from Thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth." Here the dominant thought appears to be humbleness and low estate, the contrast between man in his littleness and the majesty of his Creator. Then there are three passages in Ezekiel xxvi. 20, xxxii. 18, 24, where the context, "all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth," and the addition,

in each case, "with them that go down to the pit," show plainly that the prophet is here thinking of Hades. And to these we may probably add Psalm lxiii. 9, "Those that seek my soul to destroy it, shall go into the lower parts of the earth."

But, besides this word *takhtiyôth*, there are two others of somewhat similar meaning, which are so used that they cannot be explained of the deep places of the earth in the physical sense, nor can they be taken to mean the abode of departed spirits. They are used figuratively, and their meaning is beyond mistake. One is *t'hômîm*. It is translated "depths," but suggests always the noise of waters, the trouble and tumult of rushing, roaring waves. It occurs in Psalm lxxi. 20, "Thou which hast showed me great and sore troubles shalt quicken me again, and shalt bring me up again from the depths of the earth." And it also appears, with similar meaning, in Psalm xlii. 7: "Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of Thy waterspouts: all Thy waves and Thy billows are gone over me." The other expression referred to is *m'zôlah*, which seems to mean a deep, or depth, and is so translated in our English Version. It occurs in its literal meaning in the prayer of Jonah, "Thou hadst cast me into the deep, in the heart of the seas." And figuratively, in company with other similar expressions also used in a metaphorical sense, in Psalm lxxxviii. 6, "Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit (*b'bôr takhtiyôth*, in the pit of the depths), in darkness, in the deeps (*m'zôlôth*)."

We find then that, although the exact expression, *ἡ καρδία τῆς γῆς*, occurs only in this passage, where it is used by our Lord Himself, yet here and there, in the Old Testament, there occur other expressions so exceedingly similar to it, that we may safely take them as guides to its meaning. And they are so used that their own meaning is beyond a doubt. Always the idea expressed is that of

abasement and low place. They seem to be favourite expressions to indicate trouble, and misery, gloom, solitude of soul, depression, and extremest sadness.

We may safely infer that, when our Lord used the phrase, "the heart of the earth," He meant to express whatever is the very opposite of "heaven," and at the furthest remove from it. He must have had in His mind a period of humiliation, constraint, distress, which was to come upon Him. The words chime in with St. Paul's phrase, *εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς* (Eph. iv. 9), which are used explicitly in contrast to *εἰς ὑψος* and *ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν*. And they seem to indicate a descent from the very highest to the very lowest, and this not surely material, but spiritual, a descent distinctly below the level to which He had already stooped when He spoke the words, an emptying out of spiritual power and dignity in some conspicuous and evident manner, so as to be discernible even by those who had become destitute of spiritual insight, whose heart was waxed gross, and their ears dull of hearing, and their eyes closed. Our Lord manifestly speaks of some clearly marked space of time, "three days and three nights," during which the lowest point of the *κένωσις* would be reached; and this in so striking and obvious a manner, as to be recognisable and catch the attention of Scribes and Pharisees, and constitute for them a *σημεῖον*. For it is to Scribes and Pharisees that these words are primarily addressed. It is to them that He is directly speaking, though probably enough in the hearing also of His disciples and of the crowd. Of course the Incarnation was from first to last a *κένωσις*. What we have to consider is whether there was any period when it was most conspicuously so, when for three days and three nights the words of the Psalm were being fulfilled, "I sink in the mire of depth, where there is no standing: I am come into depths of waters, and the floods overflow me,"

a period of innermost affliction and distress, showing itself outwardly in extremest visible humiliation and abasement.

The lowest point of our Lord's humiliation was surely the Cross. And we may with confidence assume that if we measure backwards three days and three nights from the morning of the Resurrection, we shall have the period during which the Son of Man was to be "in the heart of the earth." This brings us to the Thursday, the day before the Crucifixion. No reader of the Gospels has ever failed to be struck by the sudden eclipse which overshadowed Jesus at that time. What was going on in His own Spirit we dare not say, but the darkness must have begun which He put into words when "He was troubled in spirit, and testified and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray Me," and in that other mysterious saying, "The prince of this world cometh."

Scribes and Pharisees felt the difference. Consciously or unconsciously they were already aware of a change, of the removal of something which hitherto had baffled and thwarted their evil designs. Previously they had been afraid of Him. They had hated Him, and "sought how they might destroy Him," but they had not been able to touch Him. Some mysterious influence surrounded Him, making all their efforts vain. "They sought to take Him: but no man laid hands on Him, because His hour was not yet come." The officers whom they sent to bring Him disappointed and perplexed them with their report, not of any visible impediment, but of the awe which His words inspired. "Never man spake like this man." Once in their rage they had taken up stones to stone Him, but "He went out of the temple, going through the midst of them," and they dared not touch Him. Within this week they had been saying to one another in perplexity and despair, "Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing?" But when the Thursday came, all this was changed to the very

opposite. Instead of showing Himself in the temple with His words of cutting rebuke, and speaking to them face to face the parables which they knew to point at themselves, He appeared to be Himself afraid, and to "hide Himself from them." He was already saying in His manner and bearing what on that same day He said with His lips, "This is your hour and the power of darkness."

Those words must mean a deep reality. Let us ponder them well. They must point to the innermost meaning of what He had said before, "The Son of Man shall be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth," and they show that the time had already begun. Through that day Judas is forming his plan, and seeking opportunity to betray Him. Success seemed certain. His sun had gone down. He is shorn of His strength. Scribes and Pharisees are confident of accomplishing His destruction. Their one only care is, "lest there be an uproar among the people." From Himself they fear nothing. Throughout the day the gloom was deepening, "deep calling unto deep." We need only call to mind the "exceeding sorrow" of the Supper, and the Agony of Gethsemane. This was known to His own disciples. To Scribes and Pharisees the triumph must have seemed complete, and their confidence justified, when the apprehension took place, and He Himself declared that resistance was not to be thought of. "And then all the disciples forsook Him and fled."

We need not go further, and dwell upon the narrative of the next day, and the day that followed it. Enough has been said to show that the words which Jesus had used before to the Scribes and Pharisees may be taken, as they surely were meant to be taken, in the strictest and most literal sense. The sign which He had said should be given to them was actually given to them. For the very space of time which He so accurately and carefully defined, for "three days and three nights," the Son of Man was "in

the heart of the earth," "in the lowest pit, in darkness, in the deeps."

Such power and dignity as Scribes and Pharisees could feel and recognise manifestly departed from Him; and though they were wholly unable to measure the depth of His humiliation, or even to conceive its nature, yet the sign of it was clearly visible to them, and they rejoiced in the sight. Bengel, though he interprets the expression, "heart of the earth," as meaning the sepulchre alone, yet in principle admits this larger view, for, after mentioning Gethsemane and the events connected with it, he adds, "*Hæc omnia commoratio in terrâ latius sumpta complectitur. Etenim Filius Hominis non modo in sepulturâ sed vel maxime in passione signum fuit generationi illi. Hoc modo ternarius dierum noctiumque præcise completur, a luce feriæ quintæ ad lucem feriæ primæ.*" But it is important to bring clearly into view that this interpretation, which commends itself to the mind at once, is the natural meaning of our Lord's own words, and that we need feel no temptation to wrest His language, either by supposing that, when He said "the heart of the earth," He meant a cave hewn out of a rock upon its surface, or that when He said "three days and three nights" He meant the interval between Friday evening and Sunday morning.

F. F. WALROND.

A STUDY OF ST. PAUL BY MR. BARING GOULD.

IN my *St. Paul the Traveller* a conception of Paul's character is stated, which seems to me to be so patent in the narrative of *Acts*, that it must have been the conception entertained by the author. My aim in that book was rather to show clearly what was Luke's conception of Paul than to state my own views of the Apostle's character; though, to a certain extent, my own conception necessarily tinges the picture. The attempt was, of course, a delicate and difficult one; it is founded on a certain theory of Luke's own character and action, and partakes of the uncertainty that attaches to that theory. The evidence of the *Epistles* is interpreted according to my conception of the situation, as they would appear to Paul's contemporaries, not as they appear to us in the nineteenth century. This whole process is so delicate that the opportunity of weighing and pondering over a conception of the Apostle's character, formed by one who takes much the same view as I do of the historical facts and incidents and dates, is valuable; and I am indebted to Mr. Baring Gould for several good ideas¹ and much interest; but also I must confess that I have often felt repelled by the way he belittles and (in my opinion) misrepresents a great man. The passage at foot of p. 327 is a libel on Paul.

Mr. Baring Gould defines his aim in this book as follows: "The line I have adopted is that of a man of the world, of a novelist with some experience of life, and some acquaintance with the springs of conduct that actuate mankind"; and he describes the novelist as "one who seeks to sound the depths of human nature, to probe the very heart of man, to stand patiently at his side with finger on pulse.

¹ *e.g.*, that the loss of the offerings of the "God-fearing," whom Paul tempted away from the synagogues, annoyed the Jews (p. 180, etc.).

He seeks to discover the principles that direct man's action, to watch the development of his character, and to note the influence that surroundings have on the genesis of his ideas and the formation of his convictions."

The program was quite fascinating to one who, like myself, has attempted (in a humbler way and on a less ambitious plan than Mr. Baring Gould) "to take Church History for a moment out of the hands of the theologians," and treat it on freer lines. I have none of the prejudice, which he anticipates, against a novelist's attempt to understand and depict the mind of Paul. On the contrary, the most illuminative page that I have ever read about the central scene of Paul's life, that scene whose interpretation determines our whole conception of Paul's work, the appearance of Jesus to him "as he drew nigh unto Damascus," is in a tale by another novelist, Mr. Owen Rhoscomyl (a subject to which I hope to return shortly). Hence I welcome the application of Mr. Baring Gould's method, as he defines it, to the personality of Paul. He has, however, not given himself fair play. Instead of trying simply to present his own view to the reader, he tries too much to correct the views of others; he lays so much stress on those sides of Paul's character which have, in his opinion, been too little regarded, that his picture of the Apostle is one-sided. The qualities on which he insists, and to which he returns with painful frequency, are so unpleasant that the character which he sets before us is repulsive and almost detestable. It is rare that any sentence is devoted to the good or great qualities of Paul's mind.¹ His blunders, his failures, his weaknesses, his domineering nature, fill up most of the book. He was ever a bad workman (p. 296).

My objection to Mr. Gould's book as a whole is, not that it *is* a novelist's view, but that it *is not* a novelist's view. I have not been able to feel that he presents Paul as an

¹ Examples on p. 127, 434, 436 f.

intelligible character, clearly understood by the author, and therefore easily recognisable by the reader; and he leaves Paul's work and influence more completely a riddle than before. One seems in this book to see two Pauls, sometimes coalescing more or less into a single picture, sometimes separate from one another, as if one were looking through a badly focussed optical instrument; and neither of the figures of Paul, which thus dance before one's eyes, seems to suit the work and life that are shown us in *Acts* and the *Epistles*. The author describes his aim in the words, "I treat the great Apostle as a man." I went to the book, hoping to find a man there. I found much that was interesting; I found a view so different from my own that it was bound to be instructive by forcing me to try to understand the causes which had produced it. But I do not find in it a man: I find a conception, half double, half single, like the Siamese twins. Now, as I have been requested, I shall state the reasons for this opinion, though I feel as if it were ungrateful to do so, after the kind terms in which he has referred to my work on the subject. I would not have promised to write this paper, had I not thought at first that it was likely to be far more laudatory than it is.

Briefly, I may say at the beginning that on almost all the main controversies as to the facts of Paul's life, I find myself in agreement, or nearly so, with Mr. Baring Gould. It is in the general conception that he does not persuade me. I do not insist that I am right, and I am eager to study any view that differs from mine, but I feel very sure that his view is not right, because it fails to make history intelligible.

To make Mr. Gould's position clear, it should also be mentioned that the author accepts all the *Epistles* attributed to Paul as his genuine work, and as divinely inspired writings, and that he is fully convinced of the miraculous

character of Paul's conversion. He accepts the divine element in the narrative of the early Church, holding "that to eliminate that is to misconceive the story of Paul altogether." But he is "indisposed to obtrude the divine and miraculous, wherever the facts" can be explained without it.

Before criticising details, I will quote what I thought one of the best passages in the book: "As the moon has one face turned away from earth, looking into infinity, a face we never see, so it is with the mystic. In him there is the spiritual face—mysterious, inexplicable, but one with which we must reckon. And this it is that makes it so difficult to properly interpret the man of a constitution like Paul. We have to allow for a factor in his composition that escapes investigation" (p. 138).

We must try to put shortly the character of the man Paul according to Mr. Baring Gould, and it will be best to do so as much as possible in his own words. The central point in the theory is thus stated: "The generally entertained idea of St. Paul as the Apostle to the Gentiles, preaching to the unconverted, drawing the net of the Church in untried waters, must be greatly modified. He did not carry the gospel to the heathen, though he certainly travelled among them" (p. 417, compare 148, 435, etc.).

Paul was, it seems, rarely able to persuade others fully as to his sincerity or his authority as an Apostle. "Obviously the Apostles did not altogether trust Paul's account of his vision seen at Antioch. They thought he had unwittingly coloured it to suit his own wishes" (p. 121). "It must be allowed that he possessed a faculty of giving these matters a partial aspect, and embroidering them to suit his purpose, which is calculated, if not to awake suspicion, at all events to call forth reserve" (p. 122). "Were they (*i.e.* the elder apostles) to accept the assurance of a man of whom all they knew was that he was a weather-cock in his

religious opinions, and that in a matter of supreme importance."

Extreme and ill-regulated statements of this kind prevent the author from achieving a fair presentation of his own case, and will tend to prevent the good points in the book from being appreciated.

Further, the author seems sometimes almost to doubt if Paul had any faith in his mission. For example, on p. 239, he asks, "could Paul have thought, could these shallow sciolists have conceived it possible, that the badly expressed words in which he professed his convictions would outlast and overmaster all their cobweb-spinning, and that, in a few years, deep into the rock where Paul stood and received their jeers, the cross would be cut?" I should have believed that Paul thought, and was even firmly convinced, that his words would last; but Mr. Gould apparently leads up to a negative answer.

The reasons why Paul could never convert any of the Gentiles, except certain God-fearing proselytes who had been already half-converted by the Jews, were various; but the chief were, first, his ignorance and utter want of education in anything except the narrowest and straitest Judaic legal teaching; secondly, his utter inability to argue.

As to Paul's ignorance of all things Greek, except a certain fluent command of a vulgar provincial dialect, so bad that it made his language in speaking a subject for contempt and ridicule in Athens and Corinth (pp. 226, etc.), Mr. Gould speaks with remarkable emphasis in various passages.

Paul had been altogether outside the circle of Greek studies; and had no knowledge of Greek philosophy or thought. "Paul was as incapable of appreciating the art treasures of Athens as he was of giving proper value to its philosophy." "As he had no appreciation of art, so had he none for Nature" (p. 227). "So, he was ignorant of

Greek history, and out of sympathy with the noble struggles of the past" (*ibid.*); for "the entire system of training under Gamaliel had been stunting to the finer qualities of the mind" (p. 228). "He had no knowledge of geography" (p. 317).

In Tarsus during boyhood he did not attend Greek schools, and was never allowed to come "in contact with the current and eddies of thought among the Greek students." He was even kept by his strict father from associating with such Jews as were not strict in their adherence to the Law and to the traditions of the rabbis. He learned nothing of Greek thought; and, inasmuch as "it is not probable that there was an elementary school at Tarsus" (*i.e.* a Jewish school), "he learned texts of his mother and the interpretation from his father." "As he worked at the loom, the old Pharisee laboured to weave as well his prejudices, interpretations, hatreds, and likings into the texture of his son's mind." Thereafter, as he grew old, Paul "would be placed under instruction in the traditions with the ruler of the synagogue."

In this narrow system of education, "which had tortured his growing mind," Mr. Gould finds the explanation why Paul went "to the opposite extreme," when he "deserted the religion of his youth."¹

Not merely was Paul kept from any share in Greek education; but also the amusements of the city were forbidden to him. "As Jews, the tentmaker and his son abstained from theatrical and gladiatorial shows"; but at this point the author remembers, apparently, how frequently Paul took his illustrations from the games, and he makes an exception as regards the circus. Probably "he took advantage of having a seat² in the circus, and followed the contests with zest."

¹ See pp. 51-53.

² The idea that Paul had a seat in the circus by right (for which I know of

But why should we consider that the circus was permitted to Paul, and not the other amusements of the stadium and the amphitheatre? He very often takes his illustrations from the foot-races and athletic sports of the stadium. Once at least he uses an expression which derives its force from the *venationes* in the amphitheatre.¹ Are we not as fully justified in supposing that attendance at the stadium and amphitheatre was permitted to Paul as at the circus? Is it not obvious that, if we once admit the principle that Paul's illustrations and comparisons and metaphors give a clue to his own early experiences and education, it becomes difficult to draw any such hard line of demarcation between the Jewish boy Paul's surroundings in Tarsus and those of the young Greeks? Canon Hicks says well: "See how essentially Greek is his perpetual employment of figures drawn from athletic games. . . . Not less essentially Greek are his metaphors from the mysteries, or from civic life, or from education. It is plain that St. Paul's mind is stored with images taken from Græco-Roman life; he calls them up without effort. He returns to some of them again and again. Even when a metaphor is suggested by an Old Testament text like Isaiah lix. 17 and xi. 5, he works up the illustration (1 Thess. v. 8; Eph. vi. 13) after the manner of a pure Greek simply describing a Roman soldier."²

Those whose intellectual life has been chiefly spent in Greek, like Prof. Ernst Curtius, or Canon E. L. Hicks (who knows as much about the Greek cities of the Asian coast at the period in question as any living man), recognise in Paul a man whose mind is penetrated with Greek thoughts and familiar with Greek ways. Those who are

no justification) seems to spring from the mistaken idea (p. 60) that the Roman citizenship and even equestrian rank were gained by Paul's father from his having held office in the city. See the remarks below, on p. 63.

¹ *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 230.

² *St. Paul and Hellenism*, p. 71. (*Studia Biblica*, iv.)

come to him fresh from Roman surroundings recognise in him a mind which works out in practical life many of the guiding ideas of Roman organization, and which often expresses itself in words whose full meaning is not apparent without reference to Roman Law.

That Paul was, above all things, a Jew trained in the Mosaic Law and its scholastic or rabbinical interpretation is quite true; but the old-fashioned (unfortunately not wholly old-fashioned) idea that he was nothing more than that is miserably inadequate and utterly misleading. It has maintained itself so long because Pauline study has usually been almost exclusively in the hands of men whose education has been directed first to classical Greek authors, and then to Jewish life and history. The life of the Græco-Asiatic cities, a life inarticulate to us because its literature has wholly perished (and perished unregretted)—a life known only to the antiquary through the laborious piecing together of scattered fragments of stories, inscribed and uninscribed—is a subject which the Pauline interpreters, as a rule, only enter¹ in search of illustrations; but he who is to appreciate Paul rightly must first make himself as familiar as Hicks and Curtius have been with the life and surroundings and education, amid which he worked and preached, and then proceed to study his works, instead of regarding Paul always as the Jew, and reading him with a mind always on the outlook for Judaic ideas, and with the vague prepossession that nothing is Greek which does not resemble the Greece of Demosthenes and Plato.

The author has on p. 277 ff. an interesting comparison between the Roman *Jus Gentium* (a statement of those elementary and universal principles of equity which were recognised, or supposed to be recognised, by all nations, and which lay at the basis of all right law) in its relation to the statute law, and the Gospel principles of justice and

¹ Even the best seem to enter with minds already made up.

duty in their relation to the Mosaic law.¹ In each case the modification of hard, inelastic, formal laws was sought in a return to first principles, in an appeal to fundamental and elementary conceptions of moral rectitude. The comparison may be considered perhaps a little fanciful; but I do not think so. The distinction between principles of right and rigid regulations was in the air at that period; and the educated men were thinking of it, or, at least, were in that line of thought.

This comparison illustrates a point on which Mr. Baring Gould differs diametrically from me; and the comparison which he himself here draws seems to tell strongly against his view and in favour of mine. It is impossible to determine how far Paul was distinctly conscious of the analogies that exist between his conception of Christianity and certain features of the Imperial system; but, if he had any consciousness of these analogies, he must have been far more familiar with the Roman world than Mr. Baring Gould is willing to acknowledge. And, even if he were not conscious distinctly of the Roman analogies (though, for my own part, they are so numerous that I cannot believe them to have been hit upon in ignorance by him), yet at any rate his point of view is that of the educated men of the period; he is not a mere narrow and ignorant Pharisee, as Mr. Gould regards him, but a man familiar with the thoughts and questions of the time.

In that antithesis lies the crucial fact on which Mr. Gould and I are opposed to one another. Regarding Christianity as having come "in the fulness of time," when

¹ Dr. E. Hicks refers to the same subject less fully in his suggestive little book on *Greek Philosophy and Roman Law in the New Testament*. See also Dr. Ball in *Contemp. Review*, Aug., 1891. Mr. Gould speaks, not quite accurately, of the *Edictum Perpetuum* as issued by the *prætores peregrini*; but it was specially the declaration by the *prætor urbanus* of the principles on which he intended to interpret justice (*jus dicere*). It is inferred that the final codified *Edictum Perpetuum* includes the equity of the peregrine prætors; but the record is that it was the codification of the *Edictum Urbanum*.

the world had been in part brought to that stage of education and thought in which the new religion was comprehensible, and regarding the organization of the Church as arising naturally out of, and excellently suited to, the facts of the time, I cannot consider Paul as being wholly ignorant of, and out of sympathy with, the Greek and Roman world.

Mr. Baring Gould does not consider that the facts and surroundings of Paul's life are of supreme importance. "I put aside," says he, "details unnecessary to my purpose, archæological, epigraphical, historical, geographical. My book is not, therefore, a life of St. Paul, if incidents and accidents make up a man's life, but a study of his mind, the formation of his opinions, their modification under new conditions, and the direction taken by his work, under pressure of various kinds and from different sides. At the same time I have done my best endeavour to be accurate in such details as were to my purpose to mention, having had recourse to the latest and best authorities" (p. ix.).

After this depreciation of historical study we are rather surprised to find that there is contained in chapters i. and ii. a general sketch of the character of Jewish education, thought, and society—such a sketch as few would attempt to write who had not made long and careful study of the evidence. From some pages we get the impression that, in the author's estimation, when you have seen one Jew you have seen all Jews; and the Jew whom he has seen is the Jew in whom the Talmud finds delight, and whom the rabbis of the first century B.C. or A.D. tried to train. Chapter i. describes the Palestinian Jews according to that type; and Chapter ii. paints the extra-Palestinian Jews as much the same: "All the Hellenistic Jews, to the number of three millions, who made the annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem to keep the Passover,¹ differed from the Jews resi-

¹ Taken literally, this seems to imply that 3,000,000 Jews annually came to

dent in the Holy Land in no other particular than that of language" (p. 50). One rubs one's eyes after reading such a statement, and goes over it again in order to see if one has read aright, and has not omitted a negative, or in some other way got the wrong sense.

But it is an error to take the Talmudic picture of a perfect Jew for a portrait of the actual Jew of Palestine in Paul's time; and it is a still greater error to think that the foreign Jews were not often strongly affected by Greek and Roman education.¹ In other places the author speaks more correctly on this last point.

Mr. Baring Gould has not much doubt that Paul married Lydia at Philippi, or would have done so "but for untoward circumstances," falling "under the more or less despotic control² of the rich shopkeeper," like Hercules in the 'palace of Omphale, "and delivered from it by a very peculiar circumstance," viz., the adventure with the slave girl. On the whole Mr. Gould concludes that it is more probable that the marriage did not actually come off. It was, according to him, a lucky accident that Paul had to leave hurriedly, so that "the Church of Philippi was given a chance of growth independent of his presence"; for the idea seems to rule through this book that Paul ruined every Church which he interfered with, partly by his lack of ability to convert, partly by the bad influence which he had on those whom he converted. The only persons on whom he could exercise much influence were, apparently, women: in Macedonia "he liked . . . the independence of the women and their amenability to his preaching."

Jerusalem from abroad for the Feast. "A man of the world," would hardly make such a statement; but probably the author has here merely made one of those awkward sentences which sometimes obscure his real meaning, and are apparently due to haste (see below).

¹ Many examples in my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ch. xv.

² He thinks that the money which Paul evidently had command of at Caesarea and in Rome was all supplied by Lydia (p. 402).

Timothy, "evidently a tender-hearted, gentle, sensitive person, whose bringing up by two women, and whose delicate health, made him wanting in initiative, . . . was precisely the sort of person Paul liked to have about him; one who would obey without questioning and follow without murmur" (p. 206).

The author recurs frequently to his idea of a feminine element in Paul's nature. I believe he is right, for there is always something of that element in every great nature; but Mr. Gould gives an unpleasant, glibing turn to his expressions on the subject. He points out that, if Christianity was to be trammelled by being bound to the text of the Judaic Law, it never could become a religion for the world, nor one of progress. As for Paul, "this he did not see,¹ but he felt it by a sort of feminine instinct, and what he felt, that he was convinced was right." The closest analogy which he can find to illustrate Paul's character is in St. Theresa, who "was a female counterpart of St. Paul" (p. 127, a very interesting passage, well worth reading).

Mr. Gould seems more than half inclined to think that Stephen and Paul were wrong in method and that their action was a misfortune to Christianity. The older Apostles preferred the wise and calm course of work. "They strewn the seed over every tidal wave that rolled to Jerusalem at every feast, and then retreated to the ends of the earth, whereas Paul darted about dropping grains here and there" (p. 259). Paul has had the luck to be the "most advertised," and his "comet-like whirls" are more "striking in story" than the quieter but more effective work of the other Apostles, who "sat at the centre, forming as it were a powerful battery sending out shock after shock to the limits of the civilized world" (p. 259; see also pp. 200, 300). But Paul, "as he had no knowledge of geography,

¹ I should have thought that, if there were anything in the world that Paul saw more clearly than another, it was this.

supposed the world was very small, and that he could overrun and convert the whole of it in a very few years" (p. 317).

Even the blame of Nero's persecution is laid on Paul. "So little did Paul conceive of the possibility of Nero becoming a persecutor, that apparently he took the occasion of his appeal to detach the Christian community from the Synagogue, to organize it in independence, and so place it in such a position that, after the fire, the tyrant was able to put his hand down on it, and select his victims. . . . But for this step taken by Paul, it would have been difficult to distinguish them from the Jews."

Still more strange than the oft-repeated diatribes against Paul's inability to convert the heathen, or to make himself intelligible to them, are the passages in which the author describes the evil consequences of Paul's work. These culminate in the sentence: "His model Churches either stank in the nostrils of the not over nice pagans through their immoralities, or backed out of antinomism into Judaic observance" (p. 316, compare p. 304 ff, etc.).

I have left myself no space in which to speak of the many pages in which ridicule is poured on Paul's argument. "His reasonings convinced nobody, and he was himself conscious at last how poor and ineffective they were" (p. 317). Nothing is more difficult than to understand or sympathize with the style of argumentation current in ancient times. Take Plato's arguments in *Republic* I. Nothing could well seem more pointless or more unfair, except some of those which Plato elsewhere puts into Socrates's mouth. Yet it would be hardly more foolish to consider Plato as incapable of arguing in a style which his public could understand than it is to pour contempt on Paul's reasoning. Mr. Gould has not taken enough time to understand it.

It must be frankly stated that Mr. Baring Gould seems

not to have given himself the time to do justice to his own thesis. He has made a number of slips in details, both of fact and of style, which are hardly explicable except on the supposition of extreme hurry.

As to errors of fact, he considers that the breaking of bread, etc., at Assos (*Acts* xx. 7 f.) took place on the Saturday afternoon and evening, not on the Sunday, as the words plainly imply (as the commentators whom I happen to have at hand, all¹ understand); and on this, apparently, he founds an elaborate theory as to the origin and nature of the Agape-meal.² On p. 74, he maintains that the seven deacons (*Acts* vi. 5) were "all Hellenistic Jews. It is hardly likely that as yet a place in the ministry would be given to a proselyte." But it is expressly said by Luke that one of them, Nicolas, was a proselyte Antiochian. On p. 79 he finds significance in the fact that Stephen's burial "was not conducted by the believers, though they lamented his death; but by 'devout men,' a term specially applied to the uncircumcised proselytes." Apparently, he has not consulted the Greek Text: the "devout men," who buried Stephen, were *εὐλαβεῖς*, a term perfectly applicable to the believers, and not *σεβόμενοι*, which is the term applied to "uncircumcised proselytes." On p. 242 Diolcus seems to be spoken of as a harbour on the Saronic Gulf. On pp. 224-226, it would almost seem that Thessalonica and Berœa are treated as one and the same city. Mr. Baring Gould describes the coming to Thessalonica and the riot; and "the result was that Paul and Silas were expelled from Berœa"; and this is not a mere slip of the pen, for there is no allusion to any visit to Berœa; and the confusion between the two cities continues through pp. 225 and 226.

¹ Doubtless some others take the same view as Mr. Baring Gould, for nothing in Luke or Paul is so clear, that some will not misunderstand it.

² See pp. 188, 253, etc., The Agape-meal had, as he thinks, a totally different meaning and origin in Jerusalem and in Antioch.

On p. 60 there occurs a strange sentence: "As his father was a citizen, and he likewise, they were not mere residents of Tarsus, but enjoyed the privileges and position of Roman citizenship." Taken strictly, this implies an idea that Paul's Roman rights belonged to him in virtue of his Tarsian citizenship.¹ That would, of course, be quite erroneous; but the following paragraph seems to prove that such was the author's idea, for he goes on to speak as if the enjoyment of office in the city would carry with it equestrian rank.

The style in which the book is written shows marks of haste, and contains a number of mistakes such as a practised writer like Mr. Baring Gould could hardly have been guilty of, unless he had been over-pressed and unduly hurried. For example, on p. viii., "unctuous expletives are poured over him till the precious balms break his head" (viz., Paul's head). It is proverbial that hard words break no bones; why, then, should soft words break the head on which they are cast? On p. ix. the strange expression, "the facts can be explained without forcible intervention with the natural order," probably arises from careless correction of an earlier phrase, "interference with." On p. 41, "before the *rise* of the veil of history" is an infelicitous expression to denote a remote period, about which geology alone has anything to tell. But examples need not be multiplied: the expression is often in serious need of revision.

I cannot close without protesting against a passage on p. 418. "The Americans send out and maintain missions to the Mohammedans in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, but the missionaries have long despaired of making one convert of the disciples of Islam, and they poach for congregations

¹ On p. 47 he speaks more correctly on this subject; but his words there are discordant with p. 60. The view stated on p. 60 has been often maintained by writers on Paul.

among the historic Christian Churches." In every point of view this sentence is false. The missionaries to whom Mr. Baring Gould refers were sent out from the first for the purpose of educating the Christians, and never with the intention of converting the Mohammedans. They were welcomed and protected by the three reforming Sultans, Mahmud and his two successors, which would never have been the case had their action been in any way directed to the Turks or other Mohammedan peoples. Further, their primary object was not to proselytize among the Armenians, but to provide an educational system of schools and colleges for a people who had been so repressed and degraded that they were wholly without the humblest educational organization. To this day members of many Churches attend these schools, knowing, after sixty years experience, that no attempt will be made to interfere with their religion. I have talked frequently with members of the Armenian and the Greek Church who have been educated at the missionary schools; and speak on their authority, as well as on that of the missionaries themselves. Moreover, every one who has even the most superficial acquaintance with the facts of recent Turkish history and life knows that a great number of Bulgarians were educated at the Mission College in Constantinople, Robert College. Was Mr. Gould ignorant of this, and of the part they have played in emancipated Bulgaria, or does he think that M. Stoiloff (who succeeded Stambuloff as Prime Minister) and the other Bulgarian College students were converted, or that the missionaries aimed at converting them? In the following sentence he betrays some apprehension that he may be ignorant: he proceeds, "these missionaries, I daresay, give themselves out as labouring among the unbelievers, but all their efforts are directed in quite another direction." This is all dragged in, without being relevant in any way to the subject, simply in order to give Mr. Baring Gould the

opportunity of showing his dislike for people of whom he has heard vaguely, but about whose work he knows nothing, and has not thought it necessary to inquire. They seem to him to resemble Paul. In their inability to convert unbelievers, they try to pervert Christians; and so "Paul would have liked to convert the heathen, but he could not do it; he had not the faculty. He proposed it more than once, but there it all ended."

We should have expected that a writer about St. Paul, who adopts "the line of a novelist with some experience of life," would take some trouble to familiarise himself with the general facts and situation of the country where his scene lies. Mr. Baring Gould prefers to be ignorant of the modern facts, though he has certainly taken some trouble to acquaint himself with the ancient. But he can never free himself from a ruling prejudice against the method of "any Paul or Barnabas rushing about founding Churches" (p. 260).

W. M. RAMSAY.

1 CORINTHIANS VIII. 1-9. A SUGGESTION.

It is a natural and a common practice with letter-writers to catch up some phrase from their correspondent's letters and incorporate it with their own reply. The phrase is necessarily recognised at once by the correspondent at the time, and in modern days the use of inverted commas precludes all possibility of mistake, if the letter should be subsequently printed; but the ancients had not this advantage, and hence it becomes a question of critical instinct to see where a writer is doing this, and to distinguish between the quotation and the writer's own words; and the suggestion of this paper is, that in this section of the first Epistle to the Corinthians St. Paul is quoting from the letter which

the Corinthians had written to him (vii. 1), and that to an extent which has scarcely been suspected before.¹

Before we examine the passage it is worth while to note that in 2 Corinthians we find a similar phenomenon. We have indeed no sufficient ground for assuming, as Dr. Lisco has lately done in Germany, that St. Paul is there quoting from a *written* attack upon himself, but it cannot be doubted that such phrases as those of 2 Corinthians x. 1, "I, who in your presence am lowly among you, but being absent am of good courage towards you"; and 2 Corinthians xii. 16, "being crafty, I caught you with guile," represent the substance, if not the actual words, of the taunts levelled in speech against St. Paul by his Jewish-Christian opponents at Corinth. It is again an interesting, though less convincing conjecture of Schmiedel, that when St. Paul calls himself "one born out of due time," τὸ ἔκτρωμα, *the still-born child* (1 Cor. xv. 8), he is adopting ironically the term of insult levelled at him by Judaizers: "the man who had been cast out of the Jewish synagogue, like the result of a miscarriage from the mother's womb."² Such an incorporation of taunt, objection, criticism, is eminently characteristic of St. Paul's vividly dramatic and controversial style. It underlies whole paragraphs, such as those in Romans iii. 1-9; vi., ix.-xi.; and as the first Epistle to the Corinthians is the only one in which he is confessedly answering a *letter*, it will be natural to find in it a similar method of incorporation of whole phrases or sections from the questions asked him and the reasons urged with respect to them in that letter.

I would propose, then, to print this paragraph in the following way:—

¹ I find that, in the main, my suggestion has been anticipated by Heinrici; but as mine differs from his in some details, I venture to put it forward.

² Cf. Euseb., *H. E.*, v. 1. for a similar Christian application: ἐν γίνετο πολλὴ χαρὰ τῇ παρθένῳ μητρὶ, οὗς ὡς νεκροὺς ἐξέτρωσε, τοὺτους ζῶντας ἀπολαμβάνουσα, of Christians who had at first denied and then confessed their faith.

"Now concerning things sacrificed to idols, *"we know that we all have knowledge."*

Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth. If any man think that he knoweth anything, he knoweth not yet as he ought to know; but if any man loveth God, the same is known of Him.

Concerning therefore the eating of things sacrificed to idols, *"we know that no idol is anything in the world, and that there is no God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth" (as there are gods many and lords many), "yet to us there is One God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto Him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through Him."*

Howbeit in all men there is not that knowledge; but some, being used until now to the idol, eat as of a thing sacrificed to an idol, and their conscience being weak is defiled.

"But meat will not commend us to God; neither, if we eat not, are we the worse, nor, if we eat, are we the better."

"But take heed lest by any means this liberty of yours becomes a stumbling-block to the weak."

And I would paraphrase it somewhat thus:—

"I come now to answer the second question contained in your letter, about things sacrificed to idols. On this subject you plead that you have a right to eat them, because (you say) 'we are quite sure that we Christians all have knowledge about the true nature of God and His relation to the idols.' True, but remember knowledge only makes the individual conceited; it is love which builds up a Church. Besides, your boast of knowledge shows that it is not true knowledge; a man must have love and love of God, if he is to have true knowledge; then only does he know God, or, rather, is known by God.¹ I return, then,

¹ The suggestion of Canon Evans (*Speaker's Commentary, ad loc.*) that οἶστος

to the question you have asked me about eating things sacrificed to idols ; you claim that you may do so, for (you say) ' we, as Christians, know that no idol is anything in the world, and that there is no God but one. For though there are many objects of worship among our heathen neighbours whom they call gods, whether gods of Olympus or gods of the powers of earth.' (Yes, that is true ; I see the worship of many here in Ephesus, and wherever I travel, and even Moses used language that implies many such gods and lords.¹) ' Yet to us Christians there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto Him ; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through Him.' "

" I reply that that also is quite true in theory ; yet, as a matter of fact, all Christians have not this knowledge realized ; but some having been used, up till their recent conversion, to believe an idol to have real existence and real power, eat of a thing so sacrificed with the feeling that it has been affected and polluted by the idol, and their conscience being weak is defiled.

" But you plead once more for liberty. You say, ' meat will not commend us to God ; neither, if we eat not, are we conscious of being the worse, nor, if we eat, are we conscious of being the better ; therefore we can do just as we like.' Quite true again in theory, yet take heed lest this liberty of yours about which you boast should become a stumbling-block to the weak."

takes up τὸν Θεόν and ἵπ' αὐτοῦ takes up εἰ τις, so that the meaning would be " God has at once been recognised in His true character by such a man," is very attractive in a context where the knowledge referred to is that of God and His relation to the idols ; but the analogy in thought of Galatians iv. 9, and in structure of Romans viii. 9, εἰ δὲ τις Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, is strongly in favour of the old view.

¹ The commentators suppose an allusion to Deuteronomy x. 17, οὗτος Θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων. Probably, also, the language of Deuteronomy xxxii., which St. Paul adapts in x. 20, is already in his mind, especially vv. 17, 18, 31, 37.

It will no doubt be objected that much of the language here attributed to the Corinthian letter is Pauline (*e.g.*, *οἶδαμεν*, Rom. ii. 2, iii. 19, vii. 14, viii. 22, 28; 2 Cor. v. 1; 1 Tim. i. 8; *παρίσταναι*, Rom. vi. 13, xiv. 10; 2 Cor. iv. 14, xi. 2; Col. i. 22, 28; 2 Tim. ii. 15); but this is no real objection. The history of most of the phrases would be this, that St. Paul had first used them in his preaching to the Corinthians; that then the Corinthians had taken them up, and applied them without due qualifications; that they had inserted them so in this letter; and that St. Paul takes them directly now from the letter. They are his phrases; he does not repudiate them; but he shows how they need adaptation to particular needs, and how they may not be pressed out of the original context in which they were used.

There are several considerations which seem to bear out this view.

1. It makes quite intelligible the apparent contradiction between v. 1, "We know that we all have knowledge," and v. 7, "Howbeit in all men there is not that knowledge." The former is the language of the Corinthians, the latter of St. Paul.

2. It explains the antithesis between "we" (v. 8) and "you" (v. 9). Throughout the whole passage the first person plural is the language of the Corinthians (*οἶδαμεν*, i. 4; *ἡμῖν*, *ἡμεῖς*, 6; *ἡμᾶς*, 8); the second person in vv. 9-12 is in St. Paul's address to them.

3. It gives some point to the very difficult parenthesis in v. 5, "As there are gods many and lords many." It is hard to believe that St. Paul is here predicating the real existence of many gods, as though there were an antithesis between *εἴπερ εἰσὶ λεγόμενοι* and *ὥσπερ εἰσὶ*. It seems necessary to supply *λεγόμενοι* with both clauses; but, if so, the addition is so slight, if both are regarded as sayings of St. Paul, that it is hard to see why the parenthesis is added

at all; whereas if the latter is *his* confirmation of *their* statement—perhaps by a reference to his own experience, perhaps with a semi-quotation of the Old Testament—there is a real progress in the thought.

4. It has often been noticed how frequently St. Paul in this Epistle expresses himself surprised at the ignorance of the Corinthians. The surprised question, “Know ye not?” (*οὐκ οἶδατε*; or more strongly, *ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε*;) occurs ten times in this letter (iii. 16; v. 6; vi. 2, 3, 9, 15, 16, 19; ix. 13, 24), only once (Rom. vi. 16) elsewhere. This is explicable enough in the face of the conceit of the Corinthian Church, but the satire of it is even more marked if twice in their recent letter they had used the boastful *οἶδαμεν*.

5. In a similar way the repeated stress on the privileges which *all* the Israelites enjoyed in the wilderness (*πάντες* five times in x. 1-4, cf. ix. 24-25) gains a fresh point if it is a reminiscence of this boast of universal knowledge in the Corinthian letter (*πάντες γινώσκον ἔχομεν*).

6. It is interesting to note that this great dogmatic statement of the unity of God and of Christ's work as the agent of creation, a statement which implies the fuller Christology of the Colossian letter, will thus be not only a part of St. Paul's teaching when he wrote this letter, but a part of the teaching as given when he first preached at Corinth, which was already treated by the Corinthians as a Christian, axiom, and as the basis for practical inferences.

7. It makes more clear the reason why St. Paul does not quote the decree of the Apostles at Jerusalem, “That ye abstain from things sacrificed to idols” (Acts xv. 29). The circumstances had changed, and the point of view was entirely different. At that time Jewish Christians were trying to press the observance of the Mosaic law upon Gentile Christians; the Apostles decided that such observance was not to be imposed, but they requested the Gentile Christians to abstain from a few things which

would give special offence to the Jewish Christians, and would make the common social meal of Christians impossible.¹ Had a Gentile Christian at Antioch asked the question, "Why may I not eat meat that has been sacrificed to idols?" he would have received the reply, "Because the Mosaic law forbids it, and there are 'myriads' (Acts xxi. 20) of Christians who are observing the Mosaic law, and will be offended at your conduct." But at Corinth all was different. The question of Jewish scruples and of the Mosaic law was entirely absent, or rather was a subordinate element, lying quite in the background (*καὶ Ἰουδαίους*, x. 32 only). The prominent controversy lay between Gentile and Gentile. The stronger of them, boasting of their liberty and perilously self-confident, claimed that there were no restrictions for a Christian. The idol was nothing, and could not affect the meat. They might eat such meat, not only if they found it in the market, and cooked it at home; not only if they found it at dinner at a friend's house; but actually they might join their heathen neighbours in festivals in the heathen temples (*ἐν εἰδωλείῳ*, viii. 10), and eat it there. Against this the less strong Gentile Christians protested; they had been accustomed to the idol (viii. 7) as an object of worship so very recently (*ἔως ἄρτι*) that they dreaded association with it; it seemed to pollute the meat, and they touched it with a half-superstitious dread. Had one of their stronger neighbours asked them, Why may we not eat? they would not have alluded to the Mosaic law, but to the power of the heathen idol. Against this superstitious dread the stronger appealed to St. Paul: Ought not

¹ A deeper view of the purpose of these limitations will be found in Hort's *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 71. Dr. Hort regards them as meant to be "concrete indications of pure and true religion," i.e. as meant to inculcate moral holiness, whole-hearted worship of God, and reverence for all forms of life. But if this were so, would the latter restrictions upon blood and things strangled have ever fallen into disuse?

Christians to know better than this? Was it not too trifling? Surely any Christian might eat such meat anywhere?

St. Paul's answer is twofold. He is with the stronger brethren that essentially all things are God's, and that an idol cannot pollute it or take it out of God's control; but he is entirely with the weaker brethren, that it is wrong for any Christian to eat it in an idol temple. To go there at all is an act of idolatry; it brings into play all the feelings of worship, of communion with the object of worship; it is to run into the same peril as the Israelites ran into in the wilderness; it is to be partaker with devils (x. 1-22). On the other hand, in the simple matter of eating in a private house he is on the side of the stronger; they may eat; it is better not to ask questions; yet if some more scrupulous brother still regards it as having religious associations (*ιερόθυτον*, x. 28, not *εἰδωλόθυτον*), it is well to regard such scruples and to abstain from eating out of considerateness.

The question of meat touched daily life, and was bound up with religion; hence many questions might arise about it, and it is necessary to distinguish them. At least three objections were raised and met within the times of the New Testament. The first was Jewish Christian: "the Mosaic law makes certain meats unclean, therefore a Christian may not eat them." The answer to this was, "The Mosaic law is not binding on Gentile Christians, but we ask them to abstain from meat offered to idols and from blood and from things strangled, lest they should give offence to Jewish Christians" (Acts xv.). The second was Gentile Christian: "The idols pollute meat offered to them, therefore a Christian may not eat them." The answer was, "The idols have no power; therefore a Christian may eat such meat (anywhere except where it will imply contact with heathen worship), but he had better abstain if he will give offence to his weaker brother or to

Jewish Christians" (1 Cor. viii.-x.). The last objection went deeper still: "meat is evil in itself, therefore Christians should abstain from all flesh." And the answer was, "Nothing is evil in itself; Christians are free to eat; yet once again let there be toleration and mutual considerateness" (Rom. xiv.). The three positions might be summarized in language expanded from that of St. Paul: οὐδὲν κοινὸν διὰ τοῦ νόμου (Acts xv.), οὐδὲν κοινὸν διὰ τῶν εἰδώλων (1 Cor.), οὐδὲν κοινὸν δι' ἑαυτοῦ (Rom. xiv.).

To return to the chapter, with which this article deals, it would be too sanguine to hope that the suggestion here made will meet with universal acceptance; to many it will appear too artificial. It is, however, somewhat parallel to the way in which the writer of the Fourth Gospel passes from narrating words of our Lord or of other speakers into comments of his own, without any clear indication that he is doing so (*e.g.*, i. 15-18, iii. 16, iii. 31). It is even more parallel to the way in which Horace, in his *Ars Poetica*, itself a letter, seems at first to translate a fragment of his Greek original, then to add his comment upon the statement; again without any clear indication where the translation ends and the comment begins.¹ And even if in this particular passage of St. Paul's letter it may not be possible to draw the lines so sharply as has been done above, yet there can be little doubt that St. Paul's language is influenced to some extent by that of the Corinthian letter both here and elsewhere. It is very probable that the sentence of vii. 1, "it is good for a man not to touch a woman," appeared in that letter; very probable again that the phrase which is four times repeated, "All things are lawful" (vi. 12, x. 23), had been quoted by them to justify license in moral questions, and freedom in this special matter of meats. The same may be true of vi. 13, "meats for the belly, and the belly for meats"; x. 26, 27,

¹ Cf. Prof. H. Nettleship, *Essays in Latin Literature*, pp. 173-183.

“asking no questions for conscience sake”; x. 29, “why is my freedom judged by another conscience?”; and, *mutatis mutandis*, xi. 2, “you remember me in all things and hold fast the traditions, even as I delivered them to you.” This last statement it can scarcely be doubted, referred to some grateful expression of their loyalty which they had made, though in this case there is less reason for connecting it with the *letter*: it might have been reported to him by the household of Chloe. But in the eighth chapter we are in close touch with the letter itself (cf. vii. 1 *περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε* and viii. 1 *περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων*), and it is more justifiable to look for direct extracts from it.

WALTER LOCK.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

INTRODUCTION.—The most important contribution recently made to this department of literature is the Second Part completing the First Volume of Prof. W. M. Ramsay's great work on *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Clarendon Press). In the first part, published in 1895, the Lycos Valley and South-Western Phrygia were described: in the part now issued West and West-Central Phrygia receive similar treatment. Although the larger part of the territory remains to be dealt with, its treatment will probably not occupy so much space, because in Northern Phrygia there are fewer cities which will afford material for discussion. It is too late in the day to remark upon the indefatigable research, the scientific scholarship, the lively historical imagination, the insight which lend distinction and value to all Prof. Ramsay's work. But it may be said that in nothing he has published are these qualities more in evidence, and in none of his previous works has he more effectively reproduced the past than in the volume now issued. The material alone out of which he has built his history, the inscriptions discovered and deciphered by himself and other scholars, and the allusions in rarely read authors, is of immense and permanent value: while his interpretation of this material, and his brilliant inferences from it furnish an instructive example

in historical study. Very significant for the student of primitive Christianity are the facts which Prof. Ramsay adduces regarding the attitude of Christians towards the Pagan society in which they lived. "Christianity, when establishing itself amid an alien society, did not immediately re-make the whole life and manners of its converts." The shyness of public profession, except among the Montanists, is tellingly illustrated from the sepulchral inscriptions of the Christians. These inscriptions also furnish a criterion by which the gradual introduction of certain symbols and expressions into Christian use may be ascertained.

In some respects Prof. Ramsay's conclusions will take his reader by surprise. From the incorrectness of the Greek of the epitaphs, and from other suggestions, he concludes that "the educated section of the population was, on the whole, that which turned first to Christianity: the unthinking mob of the Greek cities, and the uneducated rustic population, were the last to be affected by it. But the Greek of the Christian inscriptions is undoubtedly worse than that of the ordinary pagan epitaphs, containing more late forms and more false spelling. In this respect they justify the complaint of Aristides about the shocking Greek used by the Christians. At the same time the Christian epitaphs are more ambitious, and introduce novelties and a wider range of topics. It was not the completely Hellenized and most highly educated persons that were open to the new religion, but those who were in process of shaking off the old Oriental characteristics, and who, being in a state of change, were open to all kinds of new influences." In connection with the decay of the once flourishing and important city of Eumeneia, Prof. Ramsay gives utterance to thoughts which will not fail to be taken to heart in our own time: "The massacre of Diocletian, by exterminating the most progressive party in the Eastern cities, destroyed the last chance that the empire had of regaining vitality and health; education had always been dependent on the vigour of municipal life, and henceforth it sickened and died; when the pagan philosophic reaction had spent its force, there was no power left to withstand the barbarizing Anti-Grecian tendencies which some of the Christian party had always shown. Massacre then, as always, was to be not merely a crime and a stupendous folly, but also a terrible blow to the world, to civilization, and to humanity."

Bishop Westcott has issued in a separate volume a series of

papers which appeared in this magazine in 1887. It is published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, and is entitled *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament*. It is intended to enforce the claims of this Version to public recognition. These claims are that the Revisers "have placed the English reader far more nearly than before in the position of the Greek scholar; that they have made it possible for him to trace out innumerable subtleties of harmonious correspondence between different parts of the New Testament which were hitherto obscured; that they have given him a copy of the original which is marked by a faithfulness unapproached, I will venture to say, by any other ecclesiastical version." These claims are illustrated by a large number of instructive examples, by which the superiority, at any rate in point of accuracy, of the Revised Version to the Authorized is put beyond question.

From the Librairie Fischbacher, Paris, we have received *La Composition des Évangiles*, par Edouard Roehrich, in which a very complete account is given of the aim, contents, and sources of each Gospel.

EXEGESIS.—To the Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges Principal Moule has contributed a commentary on *The Epistle to the Philippians* (Cambridge University Press). Notwithstanding a somewhat excessive dependence upon Lightfoot, this little book contains evidence of considerable research and originality of investigation. The notes are full and compact; and they invariably throw the needed light upon the text. The only alteration which might be suggested is the substitution of a bibliographical list for the chapter on the Greek text. This chapter is either too much or too little. However, this volume will uphold the reputation of the series, which certainly is one of the most helpful now being issued.

Messrs. Rivington, Percival & Co. have added to their "Books of the Bible" for schools *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, by Rev. A. E. Hillard, M.A. The idea of the series is to furnish for the use of schools cheap editions of the books of the Bible prepared by scholars who have had experience in the teaching of divinity, and understand the needs of the ordinary school-boy. In the present volume this idea is excellently carried out, and there is little doubt that the series as a whole will commend itself to teachers. In the sketch of Herod's temple, why have the points of the compass not been considered?

The Old Faith or the New—Which? by C. E. Stuart (E. Marlborough & Co.), is an exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which the author supposes to be from the pen of St. Paul. The exposition is conscientious, but rather lacks brightness and attractiveness.

NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.—While many valuable additions have recently been made to our knowledge of Biblical theology, a scholarly treatment of the New Testament teaching regarding the Church has still been lacking. *The Christian Ecclesia*, by the late Dr. Hort (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.), goes far to supply this lack. It does not indeed include all that is embraced under the doctrine of the Church, but it traces with critical accuracy the use of the word *Ecclesia*, and the growth of that institution in Apostolic times. The book consists mainly of lectures delivered by Dr. Hort as Lady Margaret Professor in the Michaelmas terms of 1888 and 1889. The investigation is conducted with a scholar's impartiality; and in every chapter one is struck with the minute accuracy and close observation that are throughout maintained. Accordingly, the conclusions arrived at will not gratify the partisan, but are likely to stand. Of the Apostles he says, as warranted by the evidence, that there is "no trace in Scripture of a formal commission of authority for government from Christ Himself. Their commission was to be witnesses of Himself, and to bear that witness by preaching and healing. But it is inconceivable that the moral authority with which they were thus clothed, and the uniqueness of their position and personal qualifications, should not in all these years have been accumulating upon them, by the spontaneous homage of the Christians of Judæa, an ill-defined but lofty authority in matters of government and administration." This will approve itself to students of the New Testament as an eminently sane judgment. Elsewhere he says that authority came to the Apostles by the ordinary action of Divine providence, not by any formal Divine command. As a matter of course, he finds that in the New Testament the word *ἐπίσκοπος* is not a title, but a description of the elder's function. One is tempted to dwell on several of the points which Dr. Hort sets in a clearer light than hitherto has fallen upon them, but probably the book will itself be in the hands of all who seek for guidance to the teaching of the New Testament on this subject. It may not be amiss, however, to cite the closing words

of the Lectures: "In this, as in so many other things, is seen the futility of endeavouring to make the Apostolic history into a set of authoritative precedents, to be rigorously copied without regard to time and place, thus turning the Gospel into a second Levitical code. The Apostolic age is full of embodiments of purposes and principles of the most instructive kind: but the responsibility of choosing the means was left for ever to the Ecclesia itself, and to each Ecclesia, guided by ancient precedent on the one hand and adaptation to present and future needs on the other. The lesson-book of the Ecclesia, and of every Ecclesia, is not a law but a history." These no doubt are not novel conclusions, but they derive increased significance from the voice that now utters them.

Under this heading may also be mentioned the first series of Angus Lectures. These were delivered by the venerable scholar whose name they perpetuate, Dr. Joseph Angus. The subject he chose is *Regeneration: The Divine Fatherhood—The Divine Sonship that Saves Men* (Alexander & Shephard). To all who know Dr. Angus it is needless to say that in these lectures there is much clear and sound thinking. Solidity without ornamentation, warmth of feeling without impassioned utterance, characterise this, as they characterise other utterances of the same mind. May it without offence be suggested that the author's Baptist principles rather obscure the true relation of baptism to regeneration? Again and again he speaks of it as the ordinance of repentance and faith, and plainly were that the sole or the main relation and explanation of baptism, the application of that ordinance to infants would be illegitimate. But baptism is essentially the outward sign of regeneration, and, if infants can be regenerate, they can be baptized.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have issued the work of the late Archbishop of Canterbury on *Cyprian, His Life, His Times, His Work*. It was finished, even to the preface, a few days before he left Addington for Ireland in September last. His son writes a brief prefatory note, in which he gives some interesting particulars illustrating the interest which Dr. Benson had taken in the work for upwards of thirty years. Mr. Benson found his father's style obscure, and ventured to hint that "he was too careful to avoid the obvious." "No," replied the Archbishop, "it's not that: I only wish to say the obvious thing without the

customary periphrases; it all comes of hours and hours spent with intense enjoyment over Thucydides, weighing the force of every adjective and every particle." At once these features of the book strike the most casual reader, the obscurity not only of the style, indeed not so much of the style, as of the arrangement and method of the book, and the disciplined scholarship. That it has been a labour of love and the work of a lifetime is apparent from the fulness of information gathered in text and notes, and from the pains taken even with the typography—pains resulting *inter alia* in three unusually well-executed maps, for which, however, he professes himself indebted to other scholars.

Yet, rich in information and criticism as the work of Dr. Benson is, it cannot be pronounced either complete or satisfactory. The polemic against Rome which dominates it forbids both completeness and accuracy. So absorbed is he in the points that make for the Anglican against the Roman claims that he actually makes not one solitary reference to Bishop Sage's "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," and the literature to which that book gave rise, important as it was for the determination of the ideas of Cyprian regarding the relation of the bishop to the presbyterate. But even as regards Dr. Benson's main contention that Cyprian's theory and practice negative the claims of Rome, no great advance is made beyond what has always been understood. It is well known that Cyprian considered that each bishop was independent in his own domain, and that he acted on this principle in resisting the Bishop of Rome. But what Barrow and others have recognised is that by certain obscure statements he gave a handle to Romanist controversialists, and that by making no distinction between the Visible and the Invisible Church, he laid the foundation of endless errors and misleading arguments. The truth is that it matters very little what was advanced by a man who had not mastered the rudiments of the doctrine of the Church. Cyprian was a well-intentioned man, and occasionally shows some ability, but living at a critical time he did more than most men to externalize religion and exchange its spirituality for what was formal and dead.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Limited, also issue a small volume by the Rev. George C. Bell, M.A., Master of Marlborough College, which should find acceptance with all teachers who are called upon to give religious instruction. It is called *Religious Teaching*

in *Secondary Schools*, and it contains suggestions to teachers and parents for lessons on the Old and New Testaments, Early Church History, and the Christian Evidences. No book which has fallen under our notice furnishes so satisfactory a scheme of Biblical instruction. The author has throughout kept in view that Biblical teaching should be religious teaching, that is to say, should be such as in the first place is fitted to touch the springs of feeling, of will, and of conduct. And it is to be hoped that his criticism of examination papers in so-called Divinity, may effect a radical change in this department of school work. His statement of the principles which should govern the teacher of religion, and the general counsels he gives deserve the earnest attention of all who are immediately concerned with education.

The Rev. Alexander H. Craufurd has followed up his "Enigmas of the Spiritual Life" with another volume of "Essays and Addresses in Aid of a Reasonable, Satisfying, and Consolatory Religion." This volume he names *Christian Instincts and Modern Doubt*. It is published by Messrs. James Clarke & Co., and can confidently be recommended to any who may themselves be prisoners in Doubting Castle, or who in any way come into contact with scepticism. Mr. Craufurd is a Broad Churchman, who does not identify religion "with that narrow and cramping ecclesiasticism which I believe to be its most persistent and most deadly enemy." He addresses doubters with sympathy, kindness, and intelligence; and his book is rather persuasive than polemical. It is also particularly well written, the thoughts being clothed in language so felicitous that it carries the reader on from chapter to chapter till the end is too soon reached. The larger part of the volume is occupied with a paper on the Present State of Religious Thought in Great Britain. This chapter abounds in fresh and incisive criticism of the leading thinkers of our time, but in speaking of Scotland he betrays an ignorance unpardonable in one who wears so notable a Scottish name. "The present ecclesiastical warriors of the Free Church are certainly not conspicuous for deep spirituality or profound religion. Principal Rainy may be an astute tactician, but he is scarcely a "Master in Israel." In this judgment Mr. Craufurd brands himself as an unscrupulous man, who is capable of making damaging affirmations without having recourse to any sources of information beyond the tittle-tattle of a dinner table, or the utterances of a party newspaper.

ST. MARK IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE name Mark (*Marcus*, *Mārkos*¹) occurs eight times in the New Testament (Acts xii. 12, 25, xv. 37, 39; Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11; 1 Pet. v. 13). In the Acts it is the surname of a resident in Jerusalem whose Jewish name was John (xii. 12, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Μάρκου*, *ib.* 25; xv. 37, *Ἰωάννην τὸν καλούμενον [D, ἐπικαλ.] Μᾶρκον*, *ib.* 39, *τὸν Μᾶρκον*). In the Epistles the Roman name appears by itself, and without the article.

From the Augustan age or before it the Roman *prænomen* Marcus seems to have been in common use among Greek-speaking peoples. The inscriptions offer an abundance of examples.² These Greek Marks belong to different classes in society; one is a freedman, another his *patronus*; amongst them are a private soldier and a steward, and side by side with these a person is holding the dignified office of *γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου*. They belong to different parts of the Empire; some are from Attica, one comes from Italy, another from Nubia. In all these instances the Roman *prænomen* stands by itself, according to Greek usage, which assigned to each individual a single personal name.

The Gospels and Acts bear witness to the readiness of the Palestinian Jew to accept a secondary name. Sometimes it was a patronymic; sometimes it indicated the

¹ For the accentuation see Blass on Acts xii. 25, and *Gr. des NTlichen Griechisch*, p. 15 f. The form *Μάρκος* occurs in several inscriptions (*C.I.G.* 887, 5644, 6155).

² *C.I.G.* 6155, *Μάρκος Μαάρκου ἀπελεύθερος*; 5109, *Μᾶρκος στρατιώτης*; 3162, *Μ. ταμίης*; 191, *γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Μ. Εὐκαρπίδου Ἀθηναίος*.

locality to which he belonged, or something characteristic of his personality. Such a surname might be Aramaic, Greek, or Latin. Of Latin names there are examples in the Acts; Joseph Barsabbas was known as Justus (Acts i. 23), Simeon of Antioch as Niger (xiii. 1); the *prænomen* Gaius (Γάιος) is borne by several persons mentioned in the New Testament (Acts xix. 29, xx. 4; Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14; 3 John 1). But John Mark stands alone as a Jew bearing a Roman *prænomen* in addition to his Jewish name.¹ He may have adopted the second name in honour of some Roman or Greek to whom his family was indebted, and the connexion of the family with Cyprus lends some colour to this conjecture.

The mother of John Mark was a Mary, who occupied a house in Jerusalem, and was a member of the Church (Acts xii. 12). Of the father nothing is known. Mary was clearly a woman of some means, and a conspicuous person in the Christian community. Her house is furnished with a *πυλὼν*; a servant girl (*παιδίσκη*), probably a portress (cf. John xviii. 16, 17), opens the door; there is an *ἀνάγαιον* large enough to receive quite a concourse of brethren (*ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ συνηθροισμένοι*). It is the place of shelter to which Peter naturally turns upon his escape from prison; he leaves to Mary and her party the duty of communicating the tidings to the leaders of the Church (vv. 12, 17). John is not mentioned in connexion with this incident, but it may be assumed that he was present, and it is not improbable that he conveyed the intelligence to James.

This happened in the year 44. A year or two later Saul and Barnabas were at Jerusalem, bringing relief from the

¹ There are two curiously close parallels in the later Greek inscriptions: Dittenberger, 1137-8, Λεύκιος ὁ καὶ Μάρκος Μαραθῶνιος παιδοτρίβης; *ib.* 1142 Ἄλιος ὁ καὶ Μάρκος Χολλείδης. These inscriptions belong to the years A.D. 170-190.

Church of Antioch to the mother Church, which was then suffering from the famine that followed the death of Agrippa. John Mark attracted the notice of the northern leaders, partly as the son of a leading member of the Church of Jerusalem, partly, it may have been, on account of services rendered by him in the distribution of the relief fund. But if we may assume his identity with the Mark of the Pauline Epistles, there was doubtless another reason which led them to select him as an associate. The Pauline Mark was *ὁ ἀνεψιὸς Βαρνάβα*, first cousin of Barnabas, son of his father's or mother's sister or brother. Whether the father of John Mark had been uncle to Joseph Barnabas, or the mother his aunt, the relationship accounts for the favour with which Barnabas persistently regarded the younger man. Probably it was Barnabas who suggested that Mark should accompany Saul and himself on their return to Antioch, as it was Barnabas who, a few years after, proposed to take him with them on a subsequent journey (Acts xv. 37).

While John was at Antioch, the call came which sent Saul and Barnabas upon a mission the destination of which was not at first revealed (Acts xiii. 2, *εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς*). John accompanied them, but in a subordinate position (*v. 5, εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην*); as Prof. Ramsay remarks,¹ the incidental way in which the fact is stated shews that John was not pointed out by the Spirit or delegated by the Church, but taken by the missionaries on their own responsibility. In other words, he went with them to continue the personal service which he had rendered to them at Antioch. Blass's note on *ὑπηρέτην*, *l.c.*, "velut ad baptizandum," restricts his duties too much; he may have been required to baptize converts (*cf. x. 48; 1 Cor. i. 14 ff.*), but his work as *ὑπηρέτης* would include all manner of ministerial duties which could be delegated with safety, such as making necessary arrangements for the

¹ *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 71.

journey, purchasing food, negotiating, conveying messages, and the like.¹ For all such forms of service John seems to have possessed a natural aptitude (cf. 2 Tim. iv. 11, *εὐχρηστος εἰς διακονίαν*), and such assistance would have been invaluable to a party of two missionaries whose time was fully occupied with the serious business of the mission. But it was rendered only for a short time. He forsook his chiefs at Perga, almost immediately after their arrival on the coast of Asia Minor. Prof. Ramsay has offered a partial defence of Mark's conduct. He points out that at Perga Saul and Barnabas entered on a new field of work, leaving the sea coast and striking across the Taurus into the interior. To Mark this seemed to be an unwarrantable departure from the original plan of the mission, and he felt himself within his rights in refusing to be a party to it.² But the plan of the mission seems to have been left to develop itself according to circumstances, and it is difficult to reconcile the hypothesis of a conscientious scruple on Mark's part with St. Paul's indignant outburst of censure (Acts xv. 38 f.). Still, it is possible that the young man thought himself justified in leaving at this point; he had not bargained for the rough work of the interior, and he was not bound to continue his gratuitous services, especially if he had received no call to accompany the mission. In any case, he took advantage of the arrival at Attalia of some ship on her way to Syria, and returned to Jerusalem. For the next two or three years we lose sight of him.

Meanwhile Paul and Barnabas paid another visit to Jerusalem, and returned again to Antioch (Acts xv. 2, 30 ff.).

¹ For examples of the use of *ὑπηρέτης* in Biblical Greek see Prov. xiv. 35; Sap. vi. 4; Dan. iii. 46 (Th. and LXX.); Matt. v. 25, xxvi. 58; Luke i. 2; John xviii. 18; Acts xxvi. 16; 1 Cor. iv. 1. An examination of these passages will shew that the word covers a wide range of offices, and may be used in reference to any duties not inconsistent with the position of a responsible subordinate.

² *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 61 f.

Whether on this occasion John once more accompanied his cousin to the North is uncertain, but when afterwards at Antioch St. Paul proposed a second journey to Asia Minor, and Barnabas desired to have John for their attendant as before, so serious a difference of opinion arose between the two that they parted company, and Mark set out with Barnabas alone (Acts xv. 39). Unfortunately we cannot follow them beyond Cyprus, where they are left by the writer of the Acts. The island had strong attractions for the cousins; Barnabas was Κύπριος τῷ γένει, *i.e.* his family, though Levites, belonged to the body of Jewish settlers who had synagogues in Cyprus (Acts iv. 36, xiii. 5),¹ and Mark belonged to this family on his father's or his mother's side. A reference to Barnabas in 1 Corinthians ix. 6² implies that he was still at work in A.D. 57; whether in Cyprus and in Mark's company does not appear. But in A.D. 62 Mark's connexion with Barnabas seems to be at an end; he is in Rome among St. Paul's most faithful fellow workers—one of the few Christian Jews in the metropolis who remained loyal, and in association with the most trusted of the Apostle's Gentile converts (Col. iv. 10, Ἀρίσταρχος . . . Μάρκος . . . Ἰησοῦς, οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς, οὗτοι μόνοι συνεργοί: Philem. 24, Ἐπαφρόδης . . . Μάρκος Ἀρίσταρχος, Δημᾶς, Λουκᾶς, οἱ συνεργοί μου). Nor was the reconciliation very recent; before the date of the Colossian letter, instructions had been sent to the Churches of the Lycus valley to receive Mark if he passed that way (Col. 1.c.)³ After St. Paul's release Mark returned to the East, for during the last imprisonment Timothy, who is at Ephesus, is desired to "pick him up on the way,"⁴ and bring him back to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 11, Μάρκον ἀναλαβὼν

¹ On Jewish settlements in Cyprus see Schürer II. ii. pp. 222, 232 (E.T.), and cf. Acts xi. 20.

² ἢ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρνάβας οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι;

³ περὶ οὗ ἐλάβετε ἐντολὰς Ἐάν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δέξασθε αὐτόν (see Lightfoot's note).

⁴ Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 437.

ἀγε μετὰ σεαυτοῦ). The Apostle, now near his end, needs the services of the ὑπηρέτης of his first missionary journey; and it cannot be doubted that the attendant who failed him then was eager now to give of his best.

So far there seems to be no reasonable ground for hesitating to believe that we have been dealing with the life story of a single person. It is otherwise when we pass to the remaining instance in which a Mark is mentioned in the New Testament. The first Epistle of Peter conveys a greeting from "my son Mark" to the Churches of Asia Minor (V. 13, ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱὸς μου). Is St. Peter's "son" the John Mark of the Acts, and the Mark who was first the ὑπηρέτης, and ultimately the συνεργός of St. Paul?

It is clear that as far back as A.D. 44 Peter was familiar with the household to which John Mark belonged. To the house of John's mother he had betaken himself on the night of his deliverance from prison; his voice had been at once recognised by the portress. He had probably known both Mary and her son from the time of their conversion to the faith; possibly he had been the instrument of their conversion. This cannot, however, be inferred from the use of the affectionate term ὁ υἱὸς μου. If the spiritual relationship of a convert to his father in the faith had been in view, τέκνον would probably have been preferred (cf. 1 Cor. iv. 17; Phil. ii. 22; Philem. 10; 1 Tim. i. 2, 18; 2 Tim. i. 2, ii. 1; Tit. i. 4); of υἱός in this sense the New Testament has no certain example. But υἱός is quite in place if the Apostle's purpose is to refer to Mark as the son of an old friend, who has come to look upon him as a second father (cf. John xix. 26), and is rendering to him the offices of a filial piety. Nor need we exclude the sense which seems to have prevailed in Jewish circles, where the pupils of great Rabbis were described as their sons. It meets us in the sapiential books of the Old Testament (e.g.

Prov. i. 8, *ויע* = '23, Sir. vii. 3), and in our Lord's reference to the "sons" of the Pharisees.¹ If, in early manhood, John Mark had been accustomed to sit at the feet of Peter in the assemblies of the Church at Jerusalem, their remembrance of the relation which once existed between them would entitle the aged Apostle to regard Mark in the light of a son.

But St. Peter's words further imply that Mark was with him, discharging the duties of this *quasi* filial relation, at the time when the letter was written. Is it possible to reconcile this statement with the *data* of the life of John Mark?

Assuming, as we may venture to do, that the Babylon of 1 Peter is Rome, and the *συνεκλεκτή* the Roman Church, we see before us the aged Apostle dictating a letter, which he proposes to send to Asia Minor by the hands of one of his disciples. The disciple by whom the letter is to be transmitted is Silvanus, and he may reasonably be identified with the person of the same name who is associated with St. Paul in 1 Thessalonians i. 1, 2 Thessalonians i. 1, 2 Corinthians i. 19, the Silas of the Acts (xv.-xviii.). If this identification is correct, he is the colleague whom St. Paul chose to supply the place of Barnabas, when Barnabas took Mark with him to Cyprus. The letter with which Silvanus is now charged by St. Peter is addressed to the Churches of Asia Minor in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, among which would be the Churches of Ephesus and the Lycus valley, to whom St. Paul had written during his first imprisonment. Moreover, this letter from St. Peter, when it comes to be examined, is full of reminiscences of two of St. Paul's letters, the Epistle to the Romans and the circular Epistle "to the Ephesians."²

¹ Matt. xii. 27=Luke xi. 19. Cf. the reference in Iren. iv. 41, 42 to a saying of *quidam ante nos*—possibly Pothinus, as Harvey suggests.

² Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. lxxiv ff.; Hort, *Romans and Ephesians*, p. 168f.

The whole situation is most suggestive. St. Peter writes from Rome to Pauline Churches; he bases much of his teaching on St. Paul's Epistles to the Roman Church and the Churches of Asia; he sends this letter by the hands of one of St. Paul's former colleagues, he sends greeting from another. Is it possible to avoid the conclusion that, when 1 Peter was written, St. Paul had finished his course? The care of the Pauline Churches has fallen on St. Peter; the two oldest associates of St. Paul, both originally members of the Church of Jerusalem (Acts xii. 12, xv. 22), have transferred their services to the surviving Apostle. But though the leader is changed, the teaching is the same, and St. Peter is careful to shew, both by the character of his Epistle and his selection of colleagues, that he has no other end than to take up and carry on the work of St. Paul.

If we assent to these conclusions, no doubt will remain as to the identity of the Mark of 1 Peter with the Mark of Colossians and Philemon, the John Mark of the Acts. That in this case the association of Mark with St. Peter followed the death of St. Paul is scarcely a serious difficulty. The tradition which represents the two Apostles as having suffered on the same day is probably due, as Bishop Lightfoot shews,¹ to the synchronous deposition of their bodies in the cemetery on the Appian Way, June 29th, 258. Dionysius of Corinth states, it is true, that they were martyred *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον*, "but the expression must not be too rigorously pressed, even if the testimony of a Corinthian could be accepted as regards the belief in Rome," and, we may add, the testimony of a bishop who wrote in the second half of the second century as regards matters of fact which belong to the history of the first.²

¹ *Clement of Rome*, ii., p. 499 l.

² Harnack refers also (*Chronologie*, i. p. 242) to Clem. R., *Cor.* 6: *τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν* (sc. Πέτρῳ καὶ Παύλῳ) *ὅσῳς πολιτευσαιμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν*

Lightfoot, indeed, while divorcing the martyrdom of St. Peter from that of St. Paul, placed the death of St. Peter first; but the opposite view is not inconsistent with the evidence, and is more in harmony with the phenomena presented by 1 Peter.¹ The precise date of 1 Peter is still, it is true, an open question. Prof. Ramsay would place it A.D. 75-80; Dr. Sanday does "not think it easy to prolong [St. Peter's] life beyond the year 70."² But in either case, if we allow the identification of St. Peter's "son" with St. Paul's "fellow-worker," the Epistle contributes two important facts to the personal history of St. Mark. After the death of St. Paul he attached himself to that other great teacher from whom he had learned his earliest lessons of faith and life. When he appears in a New Testament writing for the last time, John Mark is still at Rome, near the grave of St. Paul, and ministering to the old age of St. Peter.

The tradition of the Church, which is reserved for a second paper, will lead us to connect the minister, colleague, and son of Apostles with the Evangelist to whom Alexandria owed her faith, and Rome and all Christendom the earliest and freshest of the Synoptic records of the Ministry and Passion.

H. B. SWETE.

οἱ τινες πολλαῖς αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις . . . ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν
 where, as Lightfoot says, "the reference must be chiefly, though not solely, to the sufferers in the Neronian persecution." But the passage does not necessarily imply that these sufferings synchronised with those of the Apostles, still less, as Harnack admits (p. 243 n), that the martyrdom took place in the year 64. That St. Peter was believed to have been buried in the Vatican has suggested that he was among the victims of the first outbreak of persecution (Lightfoot, Harnack), but does not amount to a proof of the fact.

¹ See Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 280 ff.

² *Expositio*, iv. vii. p. 411 ff.

PROF. ALBERT RÉVILLE'S "JÉSUS DE
NAZARETH."

IF we wish in the first place to realize what are the aims and tendencies of this book by Prof. Albert Réville, who must be distinguished from M. Jean Réville, the author of *Origines de l'épiscopat* (Paris, 1896), we cannot do better than cull the following propositions from the conclusions of the last chapter of his book:—

"The legend of the miraculous birth is a homage paid to a holiness which appeared extraordinary. . . . The dogma of the divinity of Jesus Christ is the mythical way of expressing the penetration of human nature by the Spirit of God. . . . The dogma of redemption by the suffering and death of Christ is the mythical representation of the fact, which is proved by experience and illustrated by the greatest martyrs, that the progress and freedom of humanity are attained at the cost of suffering undergone by those who are its benefactors. . . . The dogma of original sin sums up in the persons of the first ancestors of our race, persons who are more mythical than real, what happens over and over again each time that a man is born into the world. . . ."

This to begin with; but to most readers of the *EXPOSITOR* it will be more interesting to note, and in some cases comment upon, the position which Prof. Réville takes up with reference to the various problems of the Gospel narratives, especially as we imagine he represents the furthest point to which the criticism of the New Testament has attained in France.¹

We therefore pass by the first part of his two volumes, in which he deals with what we should call the preparation for the Gospel history, merely noting that there is a very interesting chapter on the Genesis of the Monotheism of the Israelites, at the end of which he is constrained to admit that he is not in a position to explain why the

¹ There are—an unusual feature in most French books of this class—a number of excellent maps at the end of the first volume, but they are, we observe, "made in Germany."

evolution of the monotheistic idea only took place amongst one people;¹ and that there is also an interesting discussion on the authenticity of the passage in Josephus² about our Lord, which he attempts to reconstruct. This brings us to the sources of the Gospel history as we have it now. With regard to the Synoptic Gospels as a whole, the position taken up in these volumes is very much the same as is most generally accepted at the present. He recognises four sources or documents:

(1) A collection of discourses as to the Kingdom of God, attributed to St. Matthew, and reproduced in the Gospel which bears his name; and also appearing, though in a more scattered and less complete form, in St. Luke's Gospel.³ This is the most ancient of all the written documents (p. 306).

(2) A narrative of events from the baptism of St. John the Baptist gathered by St. Mark from the teaching of St. Peter, practically identical with the present St. Mark, and found also for the most part in St. Matthew and St. Luke.

(3) The first and third Gospels combine these two documents each in their own way, and St. Luke has in addition a further source, from which he derives in particular ix. 51-xviii. 14.

(4) The oral tradition from which each has selected for himself what suited his purpose. Some of this was already in writing, such as the genealogies, the history of the Infancy of Jesus, and perhaps of His temptation. These additions can most easily be distinguished in the first Gospel.⁴ It would seem more natural to attribute such

¹ At the end of the first part there are two useful genealogical tables of the Maccabees and the Herods.

² *Antiq.*, 18. 3, 8.

³ A list of these Logia is to be found in vol. i., pp. 469, 470.

⁴ There seems to be no reasonable doubt that St. Paul was well acquainted with the oral tradition to which St. Luke alludes in his preface. See 1 Cor. xi. 2, 23-25; xv. 8-8; 2 Thess. ii. 15. Perhaps 2 Pet. ii. 21 refers to the

passages as St. Luke i., ii. to a separate source altogether, certainly a Judæo-Christian one, perhaps coming from *the* member of the Holy Family who alone could know the facts at first hand.

We now turn with Prof. Réville to the consideration of the Synoptic Gospels one by one:—

St. Matthew. With regard to the first Gospel, he shows conclusively that (1) the style of the book as we have it is the same from one end to the other;¹ (2) though written for Jewish Christians, the general tendency of its teaching caused it to be accepted as canonical, as it was so different from the Jewish uncanonical gospels; and (3) the Gospel bears traces of the symmetrical grouping by sevens, which appears so constantly in Jewish writings. He notes also the division into sections by the expression *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους*,² as if too he there began to draw from another source. We reach more debatable ground in the consideration of the first two chapters.

St. Mark. In this Gospel, which is quite independent of St. Matthew as St. Matthew is of St. Mark, though both drawn from the same sources, we have practically an almost literal representation of the common source. It is the work of an historian of bare facts and narrative.

St. Luke. The distinctive mark of this Gospel is the lengthy passages derived from other sources. Otherwise the remainder is based upon the two sources of the other Synoptics, the Logia and the Proto-Mark. Prof. Réville constantly proclaims the Ebionite tendency of this Gospel: he does not seem to have realized that, in many passages,

same. The oral tradition certainly existed for some time side by side with the written Gospels.

¹ Vol. i., pp. 465-468.

² In two places the expression is somewhat altered, viz., xii. 46, xxiii. 1. The other passages are vii. 28, xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 1, xxvi. 1.

the other Gospels are more Ebionite, if we may use the term, than St. Luke.¹

In conclusion, he assigns as an approximate time for the appearance of our present Gospels the years A.D. 98-117; the Logia he dates before A.D. 70; the Proto-Mark, A.D. 70-75.² We do not see any inherent necessity for allowing so long an interval between these latter dates and the former.

We pass on to the fourth Gospel, and here we think Prof. Réville has taken a decidedly retrograde step. He will have none of it as an authentic record. The Christ of the fourth Gospel is an idealized person. His exposition of its first verses is very unsatisfactory. "*Le Logos tendait (ſ) vers Dieu.*" "*Tout ce qui est autre chose que la matière chaotique . . . doit son développement à l'action du Logos.*" "*Afin que tous par lui arrivassent à la foi.*" These seem renderings or comments of a question-begging character. So too he drags in John ii. 4 as meaning that between our Lord and His Mother the natural bond between a mother and her son did not exist. He boldly asserts that the Christ of the Synoptics had no pre-existence, while the Christ of St. John clearly proclaims His pre-existence (vol. i. 342). He is only able to make this assertion by arbitrarily rejecting with Strauss St. Matthew xi. 27 (= St. Luke x. 22), a passage which, Dr. Sanday says, seems implicitly to contain that doctrine. The miracles and scenes peculiar to this Gospel are idealized and symbolic.³ The Christ of the fourth Gospel is absolutely free from every bond connecting Him with the Judaism of His time

¹ Dr. Plummer in his new commentary on St. Luke constantly draws attention to this.

² Dr. Harnack, in his new volume on the chronology of early Christian literature, gives the following dates: Mark, A.D. 65-70 (probably); Matthew, A.D. 70-75 (except some later additions); Luke, A.D. 78-93.

³ *E.g.* the woman of Samaria with her five husbands (iv. 18) represents Samaria with its five divinities! (2 Kings xvii. 29).

and the Jewish law. Yet, we may say, He constantly alludes to the Pentateuch, at the feast of the dedication He walks in the temple, He goes to Jerusalem for the Passover. Because He uses the expression "your law" (x. 34) and "their law" (xv. 25), the law is not His. Surely this is childish. Prof. Réville seems almost to exult in the difficulties about the day of the celebration of the final Passover, which no doubt are difficulties, but for his solution of them he does not give us sufficient reasons. How xii. 27 can in any sense be regarded as almost a calculated negation of the agony in the garden of Gethsemane, we fail to perceive. We have the troubled spirit, though for another cause, again mentioned in xiii. 21. He seems almost to wish to be able to assert that the fourth Evangelist intended to deny the reality of the sufferings of our Lord, and he assigns to that book an affinity with Gnosticism. Chapter xxi. is an addition by a warm admirer of St. John. The date of the book is nearer A.D. 140 than 130.¹ In a word, it is a Philonian, idealized story of the life of Christ. We cannot help thinking that Prof. Réville approached the consideration of this part of his subject as a foregone conclusion, biassed thereto by the particular view of our Lord's life and character which he wished to set forth; at any rate, he does not mention many of the arguments which have been adduced on the other side, many of them derived from internal evidence.

With practically one fourth of the materials which are generally recognised as the sources of our Lord's life gone or ignored, it is of course easy to make a very different portrait of the central figure of the narratives from that which can be drawn from the whole—and this apart from any of the difficulties of harmonization which, it must be admitted, occasionally occur. It is this portrait, as well as

¹ Harnack, whilst he refuses to assign the fourth Gospel to St. John the Apostle, yet dates it not later than A.D. 110 and not earlier than A.D. 80.

the comments upon the Gospel narrative, which we now propose to discuss.

The Nativity. Putting on one side the miraculous conception and the localization of our Lord's birth at Bethlehem, Prof. Réville asserts that the narratives of the first and third Evangelists are irreconcilable and mutually exclude one another. He of course makes much of the double genealogy, and almost makes merry over the dreams of the first two chapters and of Pilate's wife in the last chapter of Matthew; but this is not argument. He stumbles at the difficulty about finding a place in the narrative of St. Luke into which the coming of the wise men can be dovetailed, and does not apparently consider that the appearance of the star may have taken place some time before the nativity. The fact is that he assumes that each Evangelist must have written down all he knew of the history of our Lord's life and does not allow for their having made a selection suitable, each for his own purpose, in much the same way as St. Luke seems to have made his selections from the Logia. This would be sufficient to account for the absence from St. Luke of Joseph's hesitation as to whether he ought to put away his espoused wife. The passage common to all three Synoptics about the question our Lord asked, "How say the scribes that the Christ is the son of David?" is quoted to prove that our Lord looked upon the doctrine of the descent of the Messiah from David as an ill-founded and arbitrary one. The question, How is He his son? was surely asked in much the same spirit as the question about the baptism of John the Baptist asked only a short time before (Mark xi. 30). To have disputed the belief of the Davidic origin of the Messiah would have been to unite against Himself the whole Jewish community, who held to this belief as one implied throughout their Scriptures. The story about the descendants of David in the reign of Domitian surely could be used in exactly the opposite way to that in which

Réville uses it. The Davidic origin of our Lord is asserted not only implicitly in the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 14) which states that "our Lord hath sprung out of Judah," but also explicitly in the Epistle to the Romans (i. 3) where St. Paul says that He "was made of the seed of David according to the flesh." We do not remember any allusion to this latter statement, we could scarcely have expected one to the former, in these volumes. In fact the Davidic origin and the miraculous conception or something like it are assumed in the opening verses of what Prof. Réville looks upon as his oldest and best authority—St. Mark.¹

It would take more space than we have at our disposal to discuss at length all the statements and opinions of Prof. Réville. For him the birth of our Lord took place at Nazareth. He considers that St. Mark asserts this by speaking of Nazareth as "His own country," and that the mistake arose in the following way. He suggests that there was some confusion between the Bethlehem of Judah and another Bethlehem, an obscure little village within the borders of the tribe of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15), about six miles from Nazareth.² The census of Luke ii. 1 is irreconcilable with history.³ If such had been ordered, the Jews of Egypt, of Syria, of Asia Minor, of Greece, and Italy, would have had to go to Judæa, the Roman colonists throughout the world would have had to go to Italy, all the strangers in Rome would have had to go to their own country or that of their ancestors. Surely this is mere trifling. There is not a grain of historical fact about the visit of the wise men. The first suggestion of it perhaps came from a Jewish legend about Nimrod. The carrying of Christ into Egypt is legendary: it is the expression of the fact that the Gospel was carried into Egypt from the

¹ See Mark i. 1, 11.

² It was perhaps the Bethlehem of Ibzan (Judges xii. 8).

³ See however Plummer on the probability of such a census.

first years of the Apostolic age. It might almost be worth while to write down in short a life of Christ according to Réville, to show how he explains away almost the whole of the sacred narrative.

The Youth of Christ. Of the chapter on this subject we can say but little. When we consider that for the greater number of the years of His life our Lord lived what is often called "a hidden life," and that little or nothing is known about it, we may safely say that the thirty pages given to this subject owe much to the imagination of the writer. He describes not only what he conceives must have been the subjects of His meditations, but also the subjects of our Lord's perplexities. He puts back into the mind of our Lord as the object of His thoughts much of His later preaching. In this way he endeavours to depict something of the state of mind in which Jesus, we must not say the Messiah, was in when He came to the Jordan to receive baptism at the hands of the Baptist.¹ And this brings us to the end of his first volume.

The second begins with the baptism in the Jordan. In submitting to this our Lord took the final step towards committing Himself to His ministerial work, and did not allow the scruples which had hitherto made Him hesitate to do so any longer. We cannot ourselves discover any indication of this hesitation in the narrative. At the baptism itself he tells us that the voice from heaven was addressed to the bystanders, whilst in the fourth Gospel no mention is made of the baptism of our Lord at all, because it would be contrary to the author's theory of the Logos, and it is John the Baptist *alone* who sees the dove and hears the voice. We are rather led to assume that our

¹ About St. John the Baptist the following statements are made :—He founded a religious society which refused to join itself to the Christian Church. John did not recognise, still less proclaim, the Messiahship of Jesus. He was the proclaimer of the Kingdom of God, of the unknown Messiah, not the forerunner of Jesus Christ.

Lord was baptized when He was with the Baptist alone (Luke iii. 21). The incident of John's refusing at first to baptize our Lord is looked upon as improbable. Where were the signs to reveal the pre-eminence of Christ? Is it not a trace of the disputes between the Baptist's disciples and Jewish Christians? And did not the former argue that this baptism of Christ established the superiority of St. John over the son of Joseph? Where do we ever see our Lord anxious to carry out what are called works of righteousness? We almost think, if he had thought of it, Prof. Réville might have argued in exactly the opposite way thus.—This Johannine baptism marked a change of life and purpose. Our Lord came to this baptism to make an outward declaration that He was going to begin to lead a life different from what He had done before. As to the temptation we need only say that our author holds that the oral tradition has collected into this withdrawal into the desert the spiritual conflicts which took place in the soul of Jesus over and over again, before and during the course of His public ministry.

There is not much to be said on the two chapters which Prof. Réville entitles "The Gospel." Considering all that has been said and written about our Lord and the present pressing questions of social life, it is curious to find him saying that he should be tempted rather to believe that in reference to what we call social questions, Jesus had views that were not so clear as those upon matters which had more properly to do with the religious conscience.¹ Economical questions had no existence for Him. As to the miracles, inasmuch as he will have none of them as realities, it can scarcely be said to be worth while to discuss Prof. Réville's attempts at allegorising or explaining some

¹ In another passage (ii. 238) we find our author asserting that our Lord's teaching suffers from a narrowness of view due to His indifferent knowledge of the unavoidable conditions of social life.

of them. Some of them he feels unable to explain away, and so, for instance, when he comes to the raising of the widow's son at Nain, he says it is impossible even to conjecture what really took place. Further on he says that it would be waste of time to investigate the foundation and the details of the miraculous incidents which fill the Gospels. And here indeed is the point at issue. If there had been only a very few miracles recorded, it might have been possible to explain them away, but with so many, told so simply as they are, and without any straining after the marvellous, the difficulty surely is not to believe in them.

Of course Prof. Réville has his own way of treating the various subjects upon which our Lord lays down the law in no uncertain way. Our Lord's treatment of the question of divorce has nothing to do with the moral estimate we should form about marriage. Civil legislation takes account of the imperfections of society and relaxes the ideal law of marriage. If so, all we can say is so much the worse must be our opinion of society.

On the Messiahship of our Lord we have given us a complete theory which it would have been impossible to suggest without denying the authority of the fourth Gospel.¹ In accordance with it, our Lord had no conception or idea of a personal position for Himself at first. He came to preach the kingdom of heaven, to advocate a moral reformation. To do this He considered was more possible in Galilee than in the Holy City, because there was little or scarcely any sacerdotalism or ritualism there. But His efforts were opposed by the most religious of the Galilean population. He could not persuade them to see that Judaism had done its work, and that a new era was about to dawn. His personal pretensions were not great. Whosoever should speak against the Son of man, it might be forgiven him. Disheartened by His failures, He found it

¹ We need only refer to St. John i. to prove this statement.

necessary to take up a new position. To speak for or against the Kingdom He preached was to speak for or against Him. Yet at first this assumption of the dignity of Messiahship was not public; it was esoteric, limited to His familiars and friends. He drew the first proclamation from the mouth of St. Peter, but it was to be a secret at present.¹ But even then His idea of the Messiah was of one very different from the Messiah of the public opinion of His times. Distrust of self and extreme modesty prolonged His time of silence, and when He realized whither His teaching was leading Him, it made Him tremble. The title Son of Man did not imply necessarily His identification with the long-looked-for Messiah, though it might lend itself to it. At the same time, He wished that His disciples should arrive of themselves at this exaltation of His person, and they did arrive at it by considering that He fulfilled, or even surpassed, all that the Law and the Prophets predicted. Then came the announcement of the coming sufferings, but with it the assurance that, even if there were a brief delay, victory would be sure at last. There are some indications that from this time He begins to attempt to draw popular opinion to His side.² It was His own following that hailed His entry to Jerusalem. The city was indifferent, much to His surprise. His tentative appeal to its inhabitants to acknowledge in Him a Messiah with moral and pacific, and not political claims, was heeded but little. His purification of the temple must have met with almost general approval, though it made Him some enemies among the chief priests and in the Sanhedrim, though they did not venture to express it. Rumours grew and increased in the city of His being a pretender to the Messiahship. But He felt constrained to demolish the doctrine of the Davidic descent of the

¹ Matt. xvi. 16, 20.

² See for instance the parables of Matt. xxii. 2-14, Luke xvi. 16-24.

Messiah. This led to the question about the Messiah being David's son (Mark xii. 35), by which He endeavoured to overthrow that doctrine.

The apocalyptic teaching of this time ascribed to our Lord, cannot be His in its present form ; it is affected and transformed in the Gospels by the influence of later teaching. To the last our Lord clung to the hope that circumstances might alter, and refused to throw Himself into the yawning gulf that seemed open before Him. He knew there must be treachery in His immediate following, though who the traitor might be He was not sure. So He took the precaution to withdraw from the city at night, when He might most easily be betrayed. It was only His anxiety to keep the Passover that kept Him from withdrawing into the desert again. The actual public proclamation of Himself as the Messiah was only wrung from Him at His trial by His declaration in Luke xxii. 69, linked as it is to the words of Daniel vii. 13.

We scarcely think that Prof. Réville will carry many of his readers along with him in his views about the Messiahship. It seems scarcely needful to quote passages to prove that all the Gospels are alike written to depict our Lord as the Messiah from the very beginning. We can scarcely imagine His followers accepting the full teaching of this doctrine only in the last days of His life. Moreover, the whole teaching of the early Church from the very day of the Ascension was built upon this foundation belief in Jesus as the Messiah and in His miraculous resurrection. If Prof. Réville's deductions are right, the whole edifice of the Christian Church is built upon a rotten foundation.

More space has already perhaps been occupied in dealing with this book than it deserves. With reference to the resurrection, on which the first preachers of the Gospel laid so much stress, we are told that the essential part of the Christian religion is the Gospel the living Jesus taught,

with its religious principles as He applied them in His own life, and that this does not depend upon the reality of a miracle to which a thousand objections can be made. This part of the work is the most unsatisfactory and the most obscure of all.

To sum up :—While there is much in these two volumes which gives us matter for reflection, yet we part from them irritated rather than disturbed. If this is the worst that can be said, it cannot affect any evenly balanced mind. The work lacks the attractions of poetry and imagination, which such a book as Rénan's *Vie de Jésus* had. It is prosaic in the extreme ; and, if the author really accepts the portrait of the Saviour which he has drawn, he must in his heart form a somewhat low estimate of Him in many respects.

HENRY A. REDPATH.

RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO PAIN.

(REVELATION xxi. 4.)

ALL ages of the world have had some Utopian ideal—some state which they figured to themselves as the condition of ultimate blessedness. The Greek has his Elysian fields, the Spanish explorer his Eldorado, the Mohammedan his sensuous paradise. It is quite a subordinate matter where they have placed its locality—on the earth, in the sun, in the moon. That which makes the difference between one heaven and another is not the where, but the what. Man's paradise is not the *place* to which he is going, but the *state* to which he is going. The moral value of his heaven lies, not in whether he believes it to be up or down, beyond or here ; it lies purely in his answer to the question, "What do you consider the goal of happiness?"

In this passage St. John gives us a description of the Utopian condition of human life ; and, in relation to other

popular faiths, it presents a feature of paradox. Everything that is here said about the soul's joy is negative. The seer throughout this book dwells more on the redress of injuries than on the conferring of benefits. It is true we have the crystal fountain and the clear river, the pearly gates and the trees with luscious fruit. Yet, none of these things can be called distinctively joys of the *soul*. They are not sources of employment, occupation, permanent interest; their very joy depends on the existence of a previous joy. All the statements here made about the ultimate joy of the city of God are negative statements—declarations of the absence of some present encumbrance. That there is to be no temple with its burdensome rites of worship, no sea with its power of separation, no poverty with its ungratified hunger and thirst, no darkness with its disquieting fears, no death, no sorrow, no pain—these are the main elements which mark the privileges of the city of God. Perhaps in no allegory descriptive of that city has human imagination so restrained itself. The Republic of Plato has revealed its inner mechanism; the paradise of the Koran has exposed its pleasures; John has contented himself with recording the lifting of the chain.

And yet I am convinced that, for a purpose of this sort, the seer of Patmos is in the right. I believe that what is wanted to create perfect happiness in the present world is not a new environment, but the removal of obstructions to the old one. We hear a great deal about the limits of our environment. Yet it is not really in our environment that our limit lies. The powers of our minds are in themselves adequate to more than they ever perform. It is not because our normal powers are weak that we fall beneath our efforts; it is because our normal powers are impeded. The absence of full pleasure in this world is not the result of any defect in the world; it is the result of *interference* with the world. Ask any man why he is not happy. He will

tell you, not that his discontent arises from the actual objects of this universe, but that it comes from some barrier interposed to the reaching of these objects. Blindness, deafness, lameness, bodily defect of every kind, the backward stream of heredity, the clashing of competing interests, the quarrels of friends and enemies, the shortness of individual life—these, and a hundred other privations, are the secret of that pessimism which has so large a share in human nature.

The truth is, however different it is from the common view, St. John has on his side the philosophy of the subject. To be on the *line* of things in this world is what we call happiness; to be diverted from the line, stopped on the line, or driven back on the line, is what we call unhappiness. Unhappiness is always the result of obstacle—derangement from the line of march. Accordingly, St. John takes it for granted that the aim of Christianity is happiness: “there shall be no more pain.” This is only in other words to say that the natural order will be followed out. The life of Christ is a sacrificial life—in this world and in all worlds. But, though sacrificial, it must not be painful. It must move on the *line* of sacrifice, must be unimpeded on that line. Any absence of will would be an arrest to sacrifice. Any sense of disagreeableness would be a retardation of the Christian life. It is a requisite to the progress of that life that a man should enter into joy—the joy of his Lord. He will change his idea of optimism, but he will be an optimist all the same, nay, he will find himself to be in the actual possession of the best possible world—a world which meets all his desires, and which he would not exchange for any other.

But now a question arises. If the goal of Christianity is the elimination of pain, how comes it that, in every branch of the Christian Church, and still more in the regions outside the Church, Christianity and pain are associated?

How is it that those who have not entered within the pale have uniformly contemplated the entrance as a curtailment? Why is it that, amongst those already within, the greatest saints have generally been regarded as the men who have borne most marks of suffering and exhibited most traces of self-denial? The symbol of Christ in the world is a cross. The cross is to the Christian soldier what a medal is to the secular soldier—a mark of honour, an emblem of eminence. Both individuals and communities have courted privation for the sake of Christ. Men have gone into deserts, immolated themselves, lacerated themselves. Women have sacrificed the joys of family and home, have relinquished the leading of fashion and the homage paid to beauty, that they might spend their lives in serious thought. Kings have thrown away their crowns that they might sit in sack-cloth and ashes. A tendency so widely spread, so variedly spread, must have some root in human nature, some root in the facts of the case. Why is it that Christianity, professedly the ultimate abolisher of pain, should yet throughout the cycles of time have been linked with pain in the thoughts of the human heart?

Now, if we look at the passage before us, I think we shall find at least a suggestion of the answer. The passage in our Authorised Version reads, “neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.” Here, the passing away of previous things is made the reason for the passing away of pain. I think this a superior rendering to that of the Revised Version, which treats the latter clause as a mere redundant repetition. What I understand the seer to say is that pain shall pass away when the *need* of it passes away. At present it is bound up in the constitution of nature because there are elements in the life of man which make its existence desirable. Pain exists now because it has a function, and a beneficial function. Whenever those elements which make it desir-

able shall be either removed or transformed, it will lose its function, and therefore will cease to be.

If we accept this reading, we shall find an answer to the paradox within the passage itself. Christ, the ultimate abolisher of pain has a present use for pain. He has a function for it in the existing order of things. It is not a state which could be tolerated in a perfect organism, but in the present imperfection of the organism it has advantages to the life of the individual. It cannot pass away until the passing away of that which makes it necessary, that which retards the progress of the human spirit and impedes the development of the race of man.

There is, then, a present good in pain—something which justifies Christianity in being the *custodian* of pain. What is it? I think, in the present system of things, there are two moral benefits of pain. It serves two ends, which, so far as I know, no other phase of our being can fulfil. Let us glance at each of these.

And, first, pain is, so far as I know, the only protest in the human constitution against something which is wrong. It is the one Protestant movement in the body-politic of man's organism, the only thing which raises its voice against existing abuses. Pain is a signal—in the moral world the only signal. It indicates danger on the line. Without it the danger would be equally great but not equally remedial. It is the declaration that our health is bad, or, at the least, that something is required to perfect our constitution. Hunger is the protest of the physical nature against further abstinence; lassitude is the protest of the mental nature against further work. Always and everywhere pain is the Martin Luther of the organic framework; it placards the walls of the city with the announcement that there is something wrong.

There are two states in which man experiences painlessness—at the top, and at the foot, of the hill. In perfect

health we have no pain; in perfect disease we have no pain. In the one case our members are so full of vigour that they are unconscious of their own life; in the other they are so mortified that all sensation has ceased. Pain is never the lowest thing; it is always on the middle road between the highest and the lowest. It is that which leads from the one to the other. It is the protest of to-day against yesterday on its way to tomorrow. That is its function; that is its power.

Now, when this function exists in the moral nature we call it by a particular name—conscience. Conscience is simply the hunger of the moral nature. In itself it indicates convalescence. It reveals the turpitude of a man's state, but it does not *create* it. The revelation implies a higher altitude. Sin cannot reveal sin any more than night can reveal night. Pain is a mirror lit from above. The forms projected on its surface are impure forms, but the light by which we see them is God's light. Of all present things pain is that which has the most optimistic aspect; just because it is a protest, it is a prophecy. It is the function of conscience to tell the mind what it is the function of headache to tell the body—that disease is not a normal thing, and therefore not a permanent thing. As long as disease lasts, physical or mental, it is desirable that pain should last. Disease without pain is disease without protest—hurrying down a steep place into the sea. It is destruction unfelt, and therefore unopposed; it is peace where there is no peace. That is why, in the present state of dilapidation, Christianity has not only preserved, but polished, the mirror of pain. The first gift of God is the quickening of the Spirit—the wakening into conscious suffering of those members of Christ's body who, from deadness in sin, have been insensible to anguish.

But there is a second function of pain in the present system of things; it is the longest line of human sympathy

—the line by which the heart can travel further than by any other route. There are various lines of sympathy in the present order of the world. Their defect is not that they are inadequate or wanting in intensity. What they want is length of rail ; they need to be extended. Kindred, *e.g.*, is a strong bond of sympathy ; and, if the membership in Christ's body were realized, it would be a *universal* bond. But by the mass of mankind kindred is limited to special streams of heredity, and sympathy becomes merely the union of a clan. Again, community of taste is a bond of sympathy ; but, because tastes are varied, it is for that very reason a source also of division. More than either of these, a common joy is to higher natures a bond of sympathy ; but it is only to higher natures. To lower natures it is the reverse ; the jealous heart is not drawn to another by seeing him in possession of the same joy. None of these lines go round the circle of humanity ; they all fail to bind man as man.

But there is one thing which can, which does—the element of pain. What kindred cannot do, what race cannot do, what identity of taste cannot do, what even common joy cannot do, is achieved in a moment from the lowest ground. The sympathy with pain is the widest sympathy in the world. There is nothing on earth which so equalises men. The pains of nature are more potent in their uniting power than the pleasures of nature. The beauty of the landscape is a sealed book to the unrefined soul ; but the ills which flesh is heir to, make their appeal to all. In nothing did Christianity more show its wisdom than in attaching itself to the element of pain ; in nothing did it so evince its discernment as in stooping to the lowermost. Had the Son of Man, in the descent of His ladder of humiliation, paused at any height short of the ground, He would not have touched humanity as a whole. The secret of His success, humanly speaking, is His appeal to that

experience of pain which lies at the foot of the ladder, and is therefore the ground-floor of humanity. Even Buddha never stooped so low; he told men that their pain was a delusion. Christ started from the reality of pain. He took up the cross of man. He proclaimed His religion to be the bearing of the cross. He called to Himself all that were labouring and heavy-laden; and there answered to His summons the representatives of all mankind.

Pain, then, has a second function in the present system of things. There is something besides disease which prevents it from passing away—the limitation of human sympathy. It is at present the only chain that constitutes the conscious brotherhood of man; destroy this chain, and there is no conscious brotherhood. Whenever the time shall come when this, like the previous function, shall be unneeded, St. John says pain will disappear. Science declares that in the world of evolution a thing will cease to live when it ceases to have a use. So, says the seer, shall it be with pain. When it has no longer a service to perform, it will die. When the former things have passed away, when the constitution of human nature has been altered, when the recuperative principle of the organism has ceased to experience decay, when the limitations of the heart have yielded to the universal power of love, then will pain lose its function in the world, and with its function it will itself disappear. It will have no more place in a system not diseased; it will have no more room in the perfection of a sympathy whose movements are already impelled by love. When that which is perfect has come, that which is in part shall be done away.

Meantime, I cannot but remark that every step of modern civilization has been a progress towards the abolition of pain. Although pain is the natural heritage of culture, the history of modern culture has been a history of the minimising of suffering. We have seen a gradual

mitigation of those retarding elements whose extinction the man of Patmos desired. We have begun to "behold no temple" in the ideal city of God—to relax the bonds of discipline that divide one church from another. We have begun to realize that there is "no more sea," through the swift modes of travel and the rapid transmission of messages. We have experienced the illumination of processes which used to be conducted in secret, illustrating the words, "there shall be no night there." We have restrained many forms of death—by the reduction of war, by the increase of sanitation, by the development of medical skill. We have reduced the actual sum of sorrow and sighing—proved by the fact that suicide is no longer a glory. We have minimised bodily suffering by the power of anæsthetics—by chloroform, by morphia, by cocaine; and we are aspiring not in vain to do it by mental force. And the secret of all this strength has been Christianity itself—man's interest in the wants of man. The treasures of this wisdom existed latently from the beginning; the Christian love of man revealed their hiding-place. The spirit of sacrifice has been the true enricher of the city of God; the Lamb is the light thereof.

GEORGE MATHESON.

*LAST GLEANINGS FROM THE SINAI
PALIMPSEST.*

I HAVE lately had the opportunity of re-examining the Sinai Palimpsest of the Gospels. For the fourth time my sister, Mrs. Gibson, and I have spent a month beneath the shadow of those mighty cliffs which once resounded to the thunders heralding the giving of the Law.

The immediate object of our journey this year was to ensure that there shall be no mistakes in our forthcoming edition of the two Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries; but it was impossible for me to be in close proximity to the more important manuscript without an attempt to verify the few passages which have awakened doubt in the minds of the two surviving transcribers or of other scholars. I propose in the following paper to give the result of this investigation.

It will be remembered that the transcription which was made in 1893 by the late Prof. Bensly, Dr. Rendel Harris, and Mr. F. C. Burkitt, was published by the Cambridge University Press in 1894. Want of time obliged these gentlemen—especially Prof. Bensly—to leave many pages unfinished; and though Mr. Burkitt added portions of thirty-four pages more from my photographs after his return home, I felt that an effort ought to be made to complete the work.

On the eve of our departure from Sinai in 1893 I formed the project of persuading the monks to convey the manuscript to Cairo, and there to afford facilities to one or to all of the three transcribers to finish their copy without the toil and expense of another journey across the desert. I had then no apprehension about Prof. Bensly's health, and none of us could have foreseen that he would not be spared to edit his own portion. I, therefore, with the approval of

the whole party, wrote explaining my proposal to Archbishop Porphyrius. He and the monks were at first willing to meet my views; but unexpected difficulties arose, and they were never carried into effect. It was on account of these negotiations that the Palimpsest remained invisible to visitors during the spring of 1894. And here I must not forget to record that the conduct of the monks to my sister and myself, and in all that concerns the Palimpsest, has been characterized by unvarying loyalty and kindness.

I must also contradict the report which appeared in a Cairo newspaper, and in some French ones, that the Palimpsest was stolen from the Convent, and was offered for sale to Mrs. Gibson and me in 1895. The story is true of a MS. of II. III. and IV. Maccabees, but it is not true of the Palimpsest.

When we went to Sinai for the third time in 1895, I was very doubtful whether my eyesight would enable me to read much of the underlying Gospel text. I was agreeably disappointed; and the work that I did then was published last year in a reprint of ninety-eight pages, in which the text previously published is distinguished by being in black, whilst the fresh matter is in blue. My sister helped me in the task of verifying doubtful points.

Whilst many parts of this one are sufficiently free of superimposed matter to be read with comparative ease, in the very midst of the clearest line a word may present itself which either baffles all scrutiny, or affords abundant room for two opinions. To those of my readers who have read a palimpsest there is no need for any explanation of why these revisions and corrections were required.

Much of the dirt which covered the manuscript when I first saw it in 1892 was removed, probably with a sponge, before our second visit. Six only of the leaves were subjected to the steam of the kettle, the remainder having been separated from each other by the insertion of our

fingers. The reagent was used for the first time in 1893, and it is very curious how uncertain its effect has been. On the whole I was pleased to observe that this has been one of cleansing, and the monks are not altogether wrong when they call the application of it τὸ καθαρίζειν. On some pages, such as that containing the final colophon, the words brought up by it remain of a dark colour, clear and distinct after the lapse of four years. On fol. 138r. which contains the Angelic Salutation in Luke ii. 14, the only visible words in 1893 were those copied by Prof. Bensly. In 1895 I washed the whole page over with the reagent, being encouraged to do so by the splendid manner in which the missing words came up. This year these had all disappeared. I washed it again with the same result as in 1895. In not a few places the after effect has been a clearing away of blotches, and this has revealed an awkward mistake of my own in John xi. 55.

Before we left home this year I sought and obtained from Dr. Nestle and from Mr. Burkitt a list of queries in regard to doubtful passages. Dr. Rendel Harris was so much engaged with his Armenian *protégés* that I did not ask him for this assistance.

The pages to which I refer in the following list are those of the 1894 edition. The insertions marked by an asterisk are those of the corresponding pages in my supplementary volume of 1896.

I begin with Matt. iv. 18, p. 8, col. *a*, line 14. Here Mr. Burkitt rightly suggested that my own ܐܡܪ ܗܝ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܝܐ "as he was" should be ܐܡܪ ܗܝ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܝܐ "as he passed."

In Matt. viii. 22, p. 18 = *12 col. *a*, line 29, the *tau* of ܬ comes to the very edge of the page, and it is impossible that an *Alaf* can ever have been before it.

In Matt. viii. 33, p. 19 = *13, col. *a*, line 12 should read: ܕܠܝܬ ܕܝܗܝܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܝܐ "everything that he had done," and in verse 34, line 17, instead of ܕܝܗܝܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܝܐ, "their coasts," it

should be $\text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק}$, "[from] beside them . . . to the ship."

And on the same p., col. b, line 24, Matt. ix. 11 should read : $\text{חַנְּנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ} \text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק}$ instead of $\text{חַנְּנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ} \text{לְצֶדֶק}$. Both may be translated "our Lord and with His disciples." It is evident that the last word of the previous line must be לְצֶדֶק , "with."

On page 28 = *18 the space of a line is left blank between lines 15 and 16. The word אֲנִי (Matt. xii. 22). "Then" therefore begins a fresh paragraph. And in line 17, we have $\text{מִי} \text{מִי}$, a certain (man) in whom . . . "and blind."

On page 69, col. b, line 4, Matthew xxvi. 26, I was asked to ascertain if the word בָּרֵךְ , "blessed," was not בָּרַךְ , "gave thanks." I thought I saw the first two letters of בָּרַךְ .

In Mark iv. 9, p. 88 = *40 my only acquisition is the word שָׁמַע , "let him hear."

In Mark vi. 55 Mr. Burkitt has rightly conjectured that לְצֶדֶק should be לְצֶדֶק .

In Mark viii. 19, 20, p. 103 = *48, col. b, line 2, I read :

$\text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק}$
 $\text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק}$
 $\text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק}$
 $\text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק}$
 $\text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק}$
 $\text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק} \text{לְצֶדֶק}$

"[They say] unto Him, Twelve. He said unto them, And when seven to four thousand, how many baskets of fragments took ye up? They say . . . Seven. He said unto them."

In verse 25, line 22 of the same column I could distinguish an *Alaf* as the first letter of the line. The reading is therefore probably לְצֶדֶק , "of the blind man."

In Mark viii. 38, page 104, col. *b*, line 26, Mr. Burkitt asked me to examine the word חַב . I found that it should be חַבִּב , "amongst the sons of" (this adulterous and sinful generation).

In Mark x. 22, p. 110 = *48 the first word of the last line of col. *a* ח has become quite distinct.

In Mark xii. 23, p. 117 = *49, col. *a*, line 17 ח should read חַב , both meaning "whose." Lines 20, 21, 22 (v. 24) should read :

$\text{חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים}$
 $\text{חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים}$
 $\text{חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים}$

"took her. Jesus answered and said unto them, Ye do therefore err." The words of lines 20 and 21 were so invisible in 1895 that I thought ח came to the edge of the column.

In verse 27, col. *b*, line 11, I read :

. . . . $\text{חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים}$

And in verse 29, col. *b*, line 22 :

$\text{חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים}$

In Mark xvi. 8, p. 131, col. *b*, line 6, חַבִּב has distinctly a *yod* at the end. In the same column, three lines from the foot, Luke i. 3, Mr. Burkitt's suggestion of חַבִּבִּים for חַבִּבִּים , "who have investigated," is correct.

In Luke i. 80, p. 137 = *57, col. *a*, line 24, I read חַבִּבִּים , "and was in the desert."

In Luke ii. 14, p. 138 = *58, col. *b*, line 8 חַבִּבִּים is exactly as Professor Bensly read it.

The initial ח is nearly covered by the upper writing, but its top is too round to allow of its being a *dalath*.

In Luke v. 17, p. 150 = *66, col. *a*, line 8, I read חַבִּבִּים , instead of חַבִּבִּים .

And in verse 21, line 23 . . . $\text{חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים חַבִּבִּים}$.

On p. 155, col. *b*, line 20, חַבִּבִּים should be חַבִּבִּים .

In Luke vii. 14, p. 157 = *69, col. *b*, line 9, I think I have been mistaken in reading ܠܢܝܢܐ. The first two letters are right, but the *nun* has disappeared, and both Mrs. Gibson and I saw an *Alaf*. The word may possibly be ܠܢܝܢܐ. Mr. Kennett suggests ܠܢܝܢܐ i.e. ܠܢܝܢܐ = *φορτίον* with a prosthetic *Alaf*.

In Luke vii. 33, p. 159, col. *a*, line 16, ܠܢܝܢܐ should be ܠܢܝܢܐ. This is probably a misprint.

In Luke ix. 10, p. 167 = *71, col. *a*, line 20, ܠܢܝܢܐܝܬܐ, "to the gates of the city" is very distinct.

In Luke x. 4, p. 172 = *74, col. *a*, lines 19, 20, I have got a few more words :

ܠܢܝܢܐ ܠܢܝܢܐ
ܠܢܝܢܐ ܠܢܝܢܐ

In Luke xi. 36, p. 179, col. *a*, line 19, Mr. Burkitt has rightly read ܠܢܝܢܐ.

In Luke xiii. 25, p. 189, col. *a*, line 14, we have *sic* ܠܢܝܢܐ.

In Luke xv. 12, p. 194, the last line of col. *b* is ܠܢܝܢܐ . . . ܠܢܝܢܐ, "unto (them) his . . . substance."

In Luke xvii. 9, p. 200, col. *b*, line 25, there is a *dalath* before ܠܢܝܢܐ which was quite invisible till I touched it with the reagent, all the rest of the line being beautifully clear, so that Mr. Harris did not suspect it. The word after ܠܢܝܢܐ is less clear than it was in 1895, and I willingly yield to the opinion of Mr. Kennett and Mr. Burkitt that it may be ܠܢܝܢܐ.

In Luke xvii. 13, p. 201 = *87, col. *a*, line 15, Mr. Bonus detected that ܠܢܝܢܐ should be ܠܢܝܢܐ. I see both from my photograph and from the MS. that it is so ; and I think the mistake must have originated in a misprint, for my translation says, "and they lifted up."

Luke xxi. 34, p. 218 = *94, col. *a*, line 1, should read : ܠܢܝܢܐ ܠܢܝܢܐ.

In Luke xxiv. 33, p. 231, col. *b*, the last word ܠܢܝܢܐ

line 5, "And he hath appeared" is very distinct on the margin. It is, of course, a scribe's mistake.

In Luke xxiv. 41, p. 232, col. *a*, line 6, I got one word more, $\text{וְהָיָה לְכָל הָעָם}$.

In John iii. 34, p. 243 = *101, col. *a*, line 12, Mr. Burkitt suggested that וְהָיָה should be וְהָיָה , and this hint enabled me to see the upper stroke of the ו , and so to read וְהָיָה , "by measure," instead of "by his measure." If the upper stroke of a *tau* is very faint, one is very apt to consider it a *he*. In the next line, the second word, אָבִי , "father," is very distinct.

In col. *b* of the same page, line 20 (John iv. 6), I was pleased to get another word, וְהָיָה , "so that he might rest."

In John v. 6, p. 249 = *105, col. *a*, line 3, the dot above the *resh* in וְהָיָה has come out very distinctly.

In John vi. 15, p. 254 = *108, col. *b*, line 6, וְהָיָה , "and withdrew," should be וְהָיָה , "and went up."

In John vii. 20, p. 260 = *114, col. *b*, line 20, וְהָיָה , "the multitudes [say] unto him," should be וְהָיָה , "some [say] unto him."

In John x. 28, p. 275 = *121, col. *a*, last line, after the word וְהָיָה , "my hand," there follows a word of two letters, of which the second one appears to be *dalath*. What it is I cannot imagine, but I am certain of its presence. Mr. Kennett suggests that it might be וְהָיָה .

In John xi. 55, p. 281 = *8, col. *b*, line 16, I read וְהָיָה , "it was the evening." The after effect of the re-agent which I then applied has been to clear away a blotch above the letter *nun*, which made it look like a *shin*, and it needed no magnifying glass for me to read וְהָיָה , "it was the time." My own conjecture about the reason for this reading is, therefore, without a basis.

In John xii. 17, p. 283 = *123, col. *b*, line 16, there is a ו before וְהָיָה , which makes it read, "and the multitude."

In John xiii. 23, p. 289 = *127, col. *b*, line 1, ܥܠ ܒܫܡܝܐ, "on his bosom," has become quite distinct; and, in the same column, line 22 begins with ܥܥܐ.

In John xvi. 24, p. 298 = *134, col. *a*, line 17, the words ܠܗܝܬܗܘܬܐ, "hitherto," "not," have become quite distinct.

In John xix. 41, p. 311 = *139, col. *a*, line 10 should read ܠܗܝܬܗܘܬܐ ܠܗܝܬܗܘܬܐ, "a new sepulchre [in which no] man."

In verse 42, line 14 of the same column, I read ܠܗܝܬܗܘܬܐ, "in the new sepulchre."

The first word of the last line of that column still appears to be ܠܗܝܬܗܘܬܐ or ܠܗܝܬܗܘܬܐ, as Prof. Bensly saw it. [See Mr. Burkitt's notes, p. xlv. of the 1894 volume.] I can offer no explanation.

The above seems a very meagre result for my week's work at the Palimpsest. It proves, however, that justice had already been fully done to the text; and if any one wishes to decipher more of it, I recommend him to try the *lacunæ* in Mark xii. 21, 22, and John vi. 21-24. I do not, however, recommend a journey to Sinai on purpose for this, as these passages have quite baffled me.

I have been very anxious to see the manuscript rebound, as without this protection it is sure to suffer from the handling of visitors. Archbishop Porphyrius has, however, decided, I now think wisely, to leave it untouched. The upper writing comes very close to the inner edge of the leaves, and this edge is much worn by the friction of the cord which formerly held it together. Only a skilful hand, accustomed to deal with very ancient MSS., could attempt to bind it without injury, and the monks will not consent to send it either to London or to Paris. The Archbishop said that he must trust to three things for its preservation: "its cedar-lined box, its silken cover, and the conscience of the visitors who study it." So, on the last day of our stay at Sinai, I placed it open in the box, with the cover spread beneath it for a soft bed, and, after shutting down the

inner glass lid and locking it, advised the two holy Fathers, Polycarp and Procopius, who now act as librarians, to open only the outer wooden lid to passing travellers, and the glass lid also if a scholar should appear, who really wishes to study it. I think they will follow this direction.

AGNES S. LEWIS.

THE TRADITION THAT THERE WAS
A "GALILEE" IN THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

THERE can be little doubt that a tradition about a "Galilee" in the Mount of Olives has existed ever since the publication of the *Acts of Pilate*. The passage relied on is as follows :—

"And, after a few days, three men came from Galilee to Jerusalem. One was a priest, named Phineas ; another, a Levite, named Angæus ; but the remaining one a soldier, named Adas. These came to the chief priests and stated to them and to the people : 'That Jesus, whom ye crucified, we saw in Galilee with His eleven disciples upon the Mount of Olives, teaching them and saying, "Go into the whole world and proclaim the gospel, and whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but whosoever will not believe shall be condemned." And as He said these things He ascended into heaven. And not only we, but many others of the five hundred there saw him.' ¹

I shall have something to say upon the character of these *Acts of Pilate* later on ; but there can be no doubt about their existence in the time of Justin Martyr. He has at least one reference to them in his *Apology*, where, in treating of Christ's miracles, he adds, "And that He did these things you can learn from the *Acts* prepared under Pontius Pilate." (*Apol.*, i. 48.) Tertullian, also, in treating of the same subject, has the following reference to Christ's post-resurrection manifestations, and to

¹ Translated from the version designated by Thilo as Paris D. caput xiv. *Cl. Evangelia Apocrypha*. Edidit C. Tischendorf, Lipsiæ, 1853.

the *Acts of Pilate*, which I give in the original that there may be no mistake:—

“Nam nec ille se in vulgus eduxit, ne impii errore liberarentur, ut et fides, non mediocri præmio destinata, difficultate constaret. Cum discipulis autem quibusdam *apud Galilæam Judææ regionem ad quadraginta dies egit*, docens eos quæ docerent. Dehinc ordinatis eis ad officium prædicandi per orbem, circumfusa nube in cælum est ereptus, multo verius quam apud vos asseverare de Romulo Proculi solent. *Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tum Tiberio nuntiavit.*” (Apol. 21.)

Now it has been very fairly argued from the lines I have italicised that Tertullian had the *Acts* or *Report of Pilate* in his mind when he spoke of Jesus spending the forty days with His disciples in “Galilee, a region of Judea,” and that he had accepted the tradition about a Galilee in the province of Judea.¹

Schürer has, indeed, drawn attention to the fact that the term “Judea” was in very early times applied to the whole of Palestine, and that we cannot accordingly be certain of Tertullian having anything more in his mind than this.² But the mention of the *Acts of Pilate* seems to warrant the supposition that Tertullian, who was a very ardent and impulsive controversialist, was content to use for controversial purposes the suggestion there contained of a Galilee existing in the province of Judea. The fact, moreover, that Celsus, whose attention was directed to the difficulties in the resurrection histories, did not make anything of the incompatibility of the Jerusalem and the Galilean manifestations, seems to indicate the existence of some theory which passed muster as a solution.

Certain passages have been adduced by Prof. Hofmann from Lactantius and Chrysostom in support of his con-

¹ Cf. Dr. Rud. Hofmann's *Galilæa auf dem Oelberg wohin Jesus seine Jünger nach der Auferstehung beschied*, s. 20.

² Cf. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for April 3.

tention that there was a Galilee in the Mount of Olives ; but they can hardly be accepted in his sense, since it is known from other passages that both these writers regarded our Lord's manifestations in Galilee as being made because of the disciples' fear of the Jews in Judea.¹

On the other hand, there can be as little doubt that the tradition gained a firm footing as early as the sixth century, and traces of it have been found right through the Middle Ages, showing its ready reception as a handy solution of a recognised difficulty in the Resurrection history. Prof. Hofmann deserves thanks for gathering the evidence in so complete a form in his present pamphlet. No wonder that Suarez, who was Archbishop of Coimbra, and died in 1580 (a different man from the great Jesuit writer of the same name), felt warranted in saying in a comment on Mark xvi. : "It is not to be accepted that Christ was to precede them into the province of Galilee, but into a mountain which is near the Mount of Olives. For when one comes into the valley of Jehoshaphat, there are three pre-eminent mountains, the mount called Olivet, pre-eminent in the middle of the others, the mount 'Galilee,' and another mount to the right of the mount of Olives. In mount Galilee Galileans made a commodious permanent home, whence they could come to Jerusalem on business ; on which account the mount is called 'Galilee' unto this day." And a learned Jesuit, Harduin, a century later, in certain "Memoirs upon the History of the Sciences and the Fine Arts," speaks of Galilee as one of the summits of the Mount of Olives, where the disciples repaired to meet Jesus by appointment after the resurrection. Jesus, he asserts, had as a Galilean gone to the Galilean village in the Mount of Olives to enjoy His prayers in one of the village gardens, when He could not enter into the city. And he points out

¹ Cf. Schürer *ut supra*.

an analogy for the phraseology in the people of London saying sometimes, "I am going to *Savoy*," which would mean the duchy of that name, whereas, "I am going to *the Savoy*," would mean the palace with church and chapel built in London by Count Savoy in the 13th century. He would thus give the article its full force, and represent Jesus as sending word to the disciples that He would meet them in "the Galilee" (τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, Matt. xxviii. 7).

It thus appears that a tradition very early arose to the effect that a part of the Mount of Olives, the northern end, with sufficient ground for a hostelry and village had been appropriated by the Galileans before the time of our Lord. It went, it is thought, by the name of "Galilee," and carried the article. It was to this house of rest, accordingly, Jesus is supposed to have repaired in the last days of His life, when He could not remain in the city of Jerusalem, but went out, as the Gospel informs us, to the Mount of Olives. Here, also, it is supposed He selected His trysting-place with His disciples after the resurrection. Here He spent the most part of "the great forty days"; here He gathered round Him the 500, and here gave His parting instructions to His disciples before He was taken up.

If the tradition is thus accepted, Prof. Hofmann believes he can turn the attack made by Reimarus, Lessing, and Strauss, on the resurrection history by reason of the irreconcilability, as they think, of the Galilean and the Jerusalem manifestations. If the tradition be true, the Galilean and Jerusalem interviews melt into one.

But the fact that the tradition has had a long history, that it has succeeded in securing a lodgment even on the spot, so that the Arabs to this day are said to call part of the Mount of Olives *Kalilea*, and a chapel and even pillars were associated with it, must not blind our eyes to its suspicious origin. The *Acts of Pilate*, where it first appears, were fabricated, as we now know, by unscrupulous Chris-

tians about A.D. 150 to produce evidence ostensibly from *heathen* sources for the facts of Christ's history, which heathens would be likely to regard. No one has given more thorough attention to the pseudo-heathen and pseudo-Jewish documents than Huidekoper, and the following quotation from one of his works will set the subject in a true light. He says:—

"The average morality of Christians much exceeded that of heathens. Yet Christianity numbered among its adherents some who were unprincipled, or weak-principled. The number of these was comparatively small so long as Christians were in a decided minority, and could offer to converts neither place nor profit in a worldly sense. Yet a hundred and twenty years after Jesus taught, that is about A.D. 150, we find that some one had already supplied by fraud the want most annoying to their controversialists, namely, the lack of heathen testimony to the facts of their Master's life. At that date we find a document called the *Acts of Pilate*, and still later, a professed *Letter from Pilate to Tiberius*. Each of these documents is mentioned by but one writer during the first three centuries. Probably the chief use made of them and of subsequent forgeries was in the fourth century, when the two political parties which advocated Christianity and Heathenism were nearly equal in strength. Before this date Christians had fewer of the unprincipled in their ranks, and fewer opportunities, even when so disposed, to give currency to any forgery in their own favour. Subsequently to the fourth century, when Christianity had the upper hand, and when strife was solely or chiefly between sections of its own followers, the authority of saints and martyrs outweighed that of heathens. Later forgeries were in the name of Christian leaders, and even the forgeries which already existed were correspondingly altered, so that the *Acts of Pilate* became the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, while the *Letters of ABGARUS and Christ* became the *Letters of CHRIST and Abgarus*; those of *Seneca and Paul* being headed *Letters of Paul and Seneca*."¹

It is highly probable, then, that to the ingenious author of the *Acts of Pilate* this difficulty of how to reconcile our Lord's professed departure to meet His disciples in Galilee

¹ Cf. Huidekoper's *Indirect Testimony of History to the Genuineness of the Gospels*, pp. 3, 4; he also refers to the subject in his *Belief of the First Three Centuries Concerning Christ's Mission to the Underworld*; and in his great work on *Judaism at Rome, B.C. 76 to A.D. 140*.

with His subsequent manifestations at Jerusalem, must have suggested itself. How could One, endowed with all knowledge and all authority, profess to start for Galilee and then change His mind and manifest Himself in Jerusalem? The difficulty, the ingenious gentleman thought, can only be met by locating a "Galilee" near Jerusalem. It would be a striking contrast to "Galilee of the Gentiles"; and the Jerusalem manifestations could be at once identified with the Galilean ones. In this way, as we may well believe, the idea got afloat, and it has had, as we have seen, a long career. Minds unaccustomed to careful criticism and anxious to be delivered swiftly from every doubt, would gladly accept it and receive through it a temporary satisfaction.

But the tradition cannot stand sober and careful criticism. It has all the look of a theory invented to meet a difficulty. Moreover, if accepted, it proves too much. We can give no intelligible account of the disciples going to the Galilean lake on their fishing expedition, if the manifestations of the risen Lord had all been in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and they were charged to tarry there until endued with power from on high. It is, besides, utterly unlikely that 500 men could be concentrated a Sabbath Day's journey from Jerusalem without arousing the wrath of the dreaded Jews. The probabilities are all in favour of the distant province of Galilee being the selected spot for the great gathering of the disciples. And there is no such difficulty in reconciling the various narratives as has been supposed.

It has been too readily assumed that an Omniscient Person, as we believe the risen Saviour to have been, would not direct His disciples to go to Galilee, if He knew He must manifest Himself to them the very same evening in Jerusalem. We must remember under what circumstances the Jerusalem manifestations were granted. They were

granted because of the "slowness of heart," manifested by all except John, to believe in the resurrection. John was the first believer in our Lord's resurrection, and he believed on *circumstantial evidence*. When he entered the empty sepulchre and saw the grave-clothes and the napkin so carefully deposited, he came to the conclusion that Jesus had risen from the dead and would never need the grave-clothes any more. "He saw and believed" (John xx. 8). Peter, Mary, and the other women had all the same circumstantial evidence before them as John, but their slow hearts prevented them from reaching John's conclusion. The manifestation to Mary, as she wept at the tomb, was condescension to her slowness of heart, and there is an undertone of implied rebuke in His dealings with her (John xx. 17, 18). The manifestation to the other women was likewise condescension to their slowness of heart; they needed confirmation of the angel's words to take away their fears and fit them to take a sufficiently certain message to the disciples (Matt. xxviii. 9, 10). The interview with Peter, the interview with the pilgrims to Emmaus, the interview in the upper room with the eleven, the interview a week later with Thomas, one and all were condescensions on the part of Jesus to meet the slowness of heart which all except John had manifested in believing in His resurrection. No wonder that He is represented as upbraiding them for their unbelief and hardness of heart (Luke xxiv. 25; Mark xvi. 14). They should have believed in His resurrection and have gone in faith to Galilee to meet Him there without all this personal dealing with Him, without the examination of His hands and feet, and the putting of Him to the most extreme tests that unbelief could suggest.

The Jerusalem appearances, therefore, are to be regarded not indeed as after-thoughts on His part, but as manifestations *forced* from Him by the unbelief of the disciples. They are perfectly consistent with the Galilean meeting,

which was to be the great manifestation. It is, I think, plain that Jesus wished all who believed on Him to be present on that occasion. The place and the time would be indicated. It could not be immediately after the resurrection. It would take time to send word to all His converts and get them together on the selected mountain. The fishing expedition on the lake of Galilee has all the appearance of an incident happening as the fishermen are *en route* to the Galilean meeting. Quietly they would leave Jerusalem, and make their way leisurely towards the trysting-place in northern Galilee. And if they thought then that they had forfeited the pastoral office by their faithlessness at Jerusalem, the Lord's gracious manifestation on the shore was to revive their hope of office in the Church, which the great Galilean meeting would confirm and seal (John xxi. 1-23).

I think, moreover, that the probabilities are all in favour of supposing that the manifestation on the Galilean mount was in *transfiguration glory*, and that the mount was Hermon. Only three persons out of the 500, viz., Peter, James, and John, had seen Jesus in such glory before. It is not wonderful if some at first doubted the identity of such a radiant personality with the "meek and lowly" Jesus (Matt. xxviii. 17). But the three favoured disciples would soon assure the rest that such glory had been His already "on the holy mount," and that they need doubt His identity no longer. Upon this theory everything becomes natural and reasonable.

The return to Jerusalem and the waiting there for the gift of the Holy Ghost would be the wisest direction of the risen Saviour to all in the 500, who were prepared to assist in the founding of the Christian Church. The 120 who gathered in the upper room represent the more earnest converts upon whose hearts the great responsibility lay of inaugurating the Christian movement. It will thus appear

that we can harmonize the histories of the resurrection without any recourse to the tradition about a "Galilee" existing in the Mount of Olives.¹

ROB. M'CHEYNE EDGAR.

THE GOOD SHEPHERD OF ZECHARIAH XI.

WITH all due deference to the learned and gifted writers who have done so much for our understanding of the Minor Prophets, it seems to me that a good deal of constructive work remains yet to be done. And in especial I venture to think that none of them gives an intelligible and consistent account of the Shepherd of Zechariah xi. That he is a personage of extraordinary interest is manifest, from whatever point of view you regard him. Whether you think of him as having had an historical existence, or as a creature of the prophetic imagination—as a parable, in fact—or again as a shadow cast before by the Christ of God, you perceive at once that you are face to face with questions as difficult as they are attractive.

The following is an attempt—which in abler hands may become more fruitful of good results—to make a connected whole of the story, and to indicate where and how the New Testament type rises out of it. It has pleased God that the story should be presented in a guise which is singularly abrupt, obscure, and even fragmentary. That fact should make us very cautious in coming to conclusions, and modest in asserting them; but it does not alter our conviction that the Good Shepherd had a very distinct and definite existence in the vision of the prophet. It was no blurred and broken image which mirrored itself upon his soul. *We* may fail to reconstruct the image now, possibly

¹ For a full consideration of the discrepancies in the Resurrection-histories see *The Gospel of a Risen Saviour*, pp. 86–134.

fail even to get its outlines correctly ; but we cannot doubt that an image existed, of extraordinary force and beauty, if we could only recover it.

The materials which we possess for this purpose are the (confessedly) disjointed and difficult utterances about the Shepherd in Zechariah xi. and xiii. It is not necessary to argue that Zechariah xiii. 7-9 must be read in connection with chapter xi. Many critics wish to transfer it from its present position (where it seems singularly out of place) to the end of chapter xi. But whether it originally stood there or no, it is agreed that the only possibility of understanding it is in taking it *as if it stood there*. Nor again is it necessary to enter into any argument about the authorship of these chapters. Personally I find the argument overwhelming in favour of a prophet who shall have been a somewhat younger contemporary of Hosea's. I know, of course, that the tide of critical opinion has turned strongly in favour of a far later date. I confess to a belief that in critical opinion there is an ebb and flow, a distinct tendency to move in the same direction, which a profane person might call fashion. Nothing is more difficult than to balance one set of reasons against another set, when you possess no common measure by which you can gauge the comparative value of these reasons. I can but repeat that to me the argument from the "political horizon," and from the close agreement of the situation depicted with the picture presented by Hosea, is overwhelming. Fortunately the question of authorship and date does not materially affect my reading of the story.

That story begins with the appointment of the Shepherd in xi. 4: "Thus said the Lord my God ; Feed the flock of slaughter." Now the prophet to whom this order was addressed could not possibly have fulfilled it literally. It passed the wit or strength of any man to take charge of God's people in the face of the overwhelming disasters

which hung over them, nor is there the least reason to suppose that the prophet ever dreamed of seriously undertaking so impossible a task. But it is not therefore necessary, and certainly it is not satisfactory, to resolve the commission given and accepted into a mere parable. "Feed the flock of slaughter" was a real command, though not, as far as we can tell, directly addressed to the prophet. And as Isaiah heard, "Who will go for us?" and replied, "Here am I, send me"; so our prophet accepted the summons for himself with some true sense of responsibility, and proceeded in some real way to act upon it. What way this was may be gathered to some extent from the commission given to Jeremiah (i. 10), and accepted by him so unwillingly and with such anguish of mind: "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, and to destroy and to overthrow; to build and to plant." No one supposes that Jeremiah had any power of political control over nations and kingdoms, or that he ever attempted to exercise any such control in the sense of outward interference. Yet his commission was a real thing, and his sense of the burden which it laid upon him very real—all the more real perhaps because he could *do* nothing; just as a man in a dream labours with intolerable sense of effort to perform some feat of strength and agility, and cannot move a finger. In the "word of the Lord" Jeremiah was well-nigh omnipotent. In that "word" he could and did sweep the mightiest kings away, and reduce the greatest armies to hordes of hunted fugitives. In that "word" he could and did exalt his own people to the highest pitch of glory and of goodness. All the time in what men call real life he was as impotent as a man can be—ridiculed, denounced, without following and without influence. Yet no one would dream of saying that Jeremiah's mission was a parable. To himself it was a dreadful reality, just because he

accepted it quite seriously with no power to carry it out except in thought and word. Similar instances might be quoted of other prophets commanded to take up impossible positions and discharge impossible duties. In no case must the command be assumed to have been a mere form of speech. It always carried with it the responsibility of acting—not in the outward sphere of politics, but in the inward sphere of mind, in which so many conflicts, so many sufferings, so many errors are possible. Our prophet never undertook in any outward form the rule and governance of his oppressed and impoverished people; but in his own mind he went through it all, discharged the duties of a faithful ruler, accepted the responsibilities, however hard, and accepted also the reward, however bitter. We may call this a “parable” if we like, because there was no outward action corresponding to it; but it differed *toto cælo* from a parable in this, that the prophet gravely accepted the commission as a fact not a fancy, and speaks quite seriously of himself as having carried it out. *As far as he was concerned*, it was apparently all one as though he had really ruled in Israel. “So I fed the flock of slaughter, verily the poor of the flock.” That includes literal feeding, no doubt, in those days of famine. That would be part of his duty as the Shepherd of his people, just as it is part of the duty of an Indian Governor of to-day; but only part, of course. And then in order to lead his flock, or to support his own steps in leading them, he supplied himself with two staves, and gave them allegorical names, Beauty and Bands. The names speak for themselves, since every true shepherd must set himself these two great tasks, to make his flock fair and gracious in the eyes of all who look upon it, and to keep it undivided and undistracted. But he had other responsibilities, as God’s shepherd, and more painful ones. “I cut off the three shepherds in one month; for my soul was weary of them, and their soul also loathed

me." It seems certain to me that "the three shepherds" were some actual rulers of Israel with whom our prophet became convinced that he could not possibly work. They disliked one another too cordially and too necessarily for that. There was nothing for it but to make a clean sweep of them, if the flock was to be fed to any good effect. So far then the prophet has acted faithfully and vigorously in his office, but only so far. For some reason which he does not state he suddenly flings up his office in disgust and anger. The passionate and petulant words of *v. 9*, together with the cutting of the staves which follows, are no mere parable. They reflect the violent emotion of a soul which has tried hard to be good and patient until the moment when an over-mastering irritation and despair sweeps all before it. Such outbursts of passion were not unknown to Jeremiah, nor wholly unknown to Elijah, or even to Moses himself. If words mean anything, they point to such an outburst of real passion in the soul of our prophet also. One thing remained—to get his wages for the work he had done, since the work was at an end. It is easy to read the mutual scorn and exasperation of both parties to this unhappy transaction, and difficult indeed to believe that such an evident bitterness of feeling had no existence except in a vision or in a dream. What could be so naturally, because so petulantly, contemptuous as the words, "If ye think good, give me my hire; and if not, forbear"? As much as to say, "It is all one to *me* if you choose to be as dishonest as you are unmanageable; *I* don't care." And what so naturally, because so deliberately, contemptuous as the answer expressed in the thirty pieces of silver? *They* would not cheat him of his full wages, not *they*. *They* would not take advantage of his offer to let them off a just payment. He should have the exact sum he was worth—the sum long ago fixed as the compensation value of an unskilled slave. So far we can follow with a

fair amount of certitude the inward history of our prophet, although all attempts to connect that history with outward events are frustrated by the obscurity of the narrative. What follows is more difficult. In v. 15 he is told that he has yet an office to fulfil, and a part to play. He is to take unto him the instruments of a foolish shepherd, and the character and the fate of that shepherd are declared unto him in the next two verses. We may ask in passing what the instruments of a foolish (or worthless) shepherd are? The answer will doubtless be that they are just the same as those of a wise and good shepherd, *with this difference*. A foolish person always overdoes his part. The shepherd had only a crook and a staff and a wallet, and maybe a sling (like David); and a knife and a flute in his girdle. The foolish shepherd would have all these carefully displayed about him. He would have all the possible stock-in-trade of a shepherd of the largest possible size and the newest possible pattern. He would be advertising himself all the time; and whilst he was parading his shepherd's paraphernalia he would lose sight of his sheep. When he wearied of that, and when he grew hungry and angry, he would begin to slay the sheep to feed himself. But what is the true connection between this command in v. 15 and what goes before? Surely it is not far to seek. The servant of Jehovah who had been charged to sustain (in some way we cannot define) the part of good shepherd had thrown up his office in disgust and despair. Humanly speaking that disgust and despair were justified by the ingratitude and insolence of the people. But they were wrong, clearly wrong, in Jehovah's servant who had been chosen to "present" the Shepherd of Israel. It is not possible, because one is in a very bad humour, to get rid thus lightly of responsibilities laid upon one from on high. "Shepherd" he had to be; if not good shepherd, then bad shepherd. There is, unhappily, no other alternative

allowed in the counsels of the Most High. No doubt the people *deserved* to have it so, and they had their deserts. If they will not hear the voice of that Shepherd who is the Life, then are they "appointed as a flock for Sheol," and "Death shall be their shepherd." But the shepherd also must suffer. A petulant temper and a bitter sense of injustice cannot save him from himself; he must become bad shepherd, and be the final ruin of the flock. And he must look forward to the recompense of reward due to him that spoils Jehovah's flock.

It is here, as I venture to think, that we find the explanation of that most obscure passage in chapter xiii. 7-9. Standing where it does, it is inexplicable, for no reasonable account can be given of its connection with the context, or of what it meant for the prophet. We have no doubt a firm conviction that every "prophecy" which we apply to the Messiah arose out of something in the prophet's circumstances or surroundings, or else out of something in his own mental history: it must have had some basis, some starting point, in the time then present: it must have had a meaning for the prophet out of which its meaning for the Messiah arose according to those laws which govern the fulfilments of prophecy. Where they stand, these three verses are hopeless. Most critics wish to remove them from their present place, and to read them at the close of chapter xi. The recurrence of those leading thoughts of "sword," "shepherd," "flock," make this suggestion an obvious one. Whether we agree to this rearrangement of verses or no, we shall probably all agree that xiii. 7-9 can only be understood at all by being taken in close connection with chapter xi. and not with its immediate context.

Now if this be done, it seems to me that no more assumptions are necessary, no other actors in the great drama introduced. It is the very sword foretold in xi. 17 as bound

to fall sooner or later upon the arm and the eye of the evil shepherd who left caring for his flock, and so became their enemy. And that is the very shepherd of chapter xi.—a man indeed, and yet Jehovah's "fellow" in a mystery. For it is one of the chief features of this wonderful book that Jehovah identifies Himself in the most surprising way with His shepherd, and His shepherd with Himself. The price paid for the shepherd He deliberately and unreservedly accepts as the price which they put upon Himself (v. 13), and orders it to be dealt with accordingly. It is true that the evangelist who quotes the scripture (Matt. xxvii. 9) is apparently quite blind to this most remarkable feature of it, and has actually altered it so as to obliterate the very thing which makes it most distinctively "Christian" for us—an unexpected fact which meets us again in connection with the New Testament citations of xiii. 7 and xii. 10. But that cannot possibly alter the character of the original prophecy. The shepherd whom they of Israel rejected and insulted *was* the recognised representative and *alter ego* of Jehovah Himself. Nor could he divest himself by his own wilfulness of that character. His sin and his punishment were so great, precisely because he was still Jehovah's "fellow," who had been assumed into a sublime partnership, a holy *solidarité*, of work and office and position, and had *failed* to discharge with patient zeal the duties and responsibilities of that high-exalted state.

It is therefore, as I take it, a mistake to dwell upon those words "my shepherd, and . . . the man that is my fellow" as though they were only meant to intimate the greatness and the majesty of him to whom they refer. They do that, but only in order to make it clear *why* the sword is invoked against him by Jehovah. The same "sword" which invoked by him had cut off the three evil shepherds in one month (xi. 8) must now be called out against himself, forasmuch as he had become as one of

them—he, who in a mystery had played the part of God's vicegerent and partner in His righteous acts. When he was removed, the sheep would be scattered indeed; but better so than perish wholesale under his evil guidance.

I venture to claim for this interpretation that it is all in keeping, and presents us with a definite and intelligible picture. Underneath the broken and disjointed fragments of the story, with its references more or less obscure to the history of Israel, there is the story of a soul. It is the story of one who, like Jonah certainly, and perhaps like others among the prophets, cannot rise to the height of his vocation—or at least cannot abide there. One who breaks down under the tremendous strain to which he is exposed, cuts asunder his staves, renounces his ideals, flings up his office. One who is punished according to his failure, first by deterioration of character and conduct, and last by utter destruction. True, it is impossible to say, and useless to guess, how far the prophet actually went in the path of disobedience—how far his wilfulness actually carried him on the road to ruin. But he went far enough to see the end—far off perhaps, but all the same inevitable; spiritually discerned may be, but none the less real. He realized in himself what it meant—that change from good to bad, from bad to worse. He awaited in himself the stroke of the sword: the more surely because in his own hands it had cut short the evil ways of others. The details of outward history are of little moment, but the story of a soul which had knowledge of the Most High is of the profoundest interest, wherever its lot was cast; and here was one who, in a certain true sense, stood very near to the Most High and might have been crowned—with thorns indeed, for that rejection and insult were his earthly recompense,—but yet with glory and honour unspeakable.

If I am right in believing that this was in outline the per-

sonal history of the prophet—a history which we can only follow with any distinctness on the side of his inward experiences—then it follows that any satisfactory application of prophecy to our Lord must arise out of this personal history. We need not in the least disdain such verbal applications as we find in Matt. xxvii. 9 or John xix. 37. But unquestionably our deepening knowledge of the prophet entitles us to look deeper. The underlying basis of all such applications must be found in the fact that our prophets occupied the place for the time being of Jehovah's shepherd, and that as such he was in a true sense identified with Jehovah Himself. He is a type of *the* Good Shepherd, not arbitrarily but by virtue of what he was and what he did. He prefigures *the* Good Shepherd, as everybody sees, in that he feeds the flock destined otherwise for slaughter, and especially the poor of the flock, who in return are especially ready to recognise his authority. He prefigures Him in the choice of the two staves, Beauty and Bands. There are two things above all others which characterise the flock as fed by Christ—the *charm* of their Christian life and conversation, and the strong instinct of *unity* which binds them together. What is not so often seen is that he really prefigures the Good Shepherd in a point where we might easily see difference only. The prophet in his official character cut off "the three shepherds," *i.e.* the previous rulers who misgoverned the people. Our Lord said, "all that came before Me are thieves and robbers: but the sheep did not hear them." Now that sounds harsh and sweeping, and commentators are at pains to soften it down. It is only necessary to remember that He spake as the Good Shepherd who was alone responsible for the sheep, and He spake of these others, not as they were in their private character, but as rivals and competitors for the leadership of the flock. So He "cut off" all these shepherds by that one strong saying.

Again, the precise amount at which he was "prised" when his work was done is of no real importance. It was one of those superficial correspondences which had such a powerful attraction for the simple piety of the first evangelist. But what really made the transaction a true prophecy was of course the studied insult, the implied comparison to a disabled slave; and along with this the express assertion that it was Jehovah Himself whom they thus lightly esteemed. It was the Father whom they vilified in the Son: it was the eternal King and Shepherd of Israel to whom they greatly preferred Barabbas.

It is not difficult to get so far as this, if once we recognise the fact that we are perfectly free to see much deeper into the type than it was given to St. Matthew to see. But the next step is more difficult. We feel certain that the astonishing prophecy in xiii. 7-9 finds its ultimate fulfilment in our Lord, but how is it to be explained? The evangelists do not help us, for here again St. Matthew has deliberately altered the words (chap. xxvi. 31), and in altering them has entirely obscured their chief significance. It is *not* "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered": it is a far more remarkable saying than that, and much more peculiarly and profoundly true of our Lord. It is "smite the shepherd"; the command is Jehovah's command, and it is addressed to the "sword" which has been invoked in the previous verse. The "sword" means no doubt those forces of death and destruction which are employed by the Lord of all to fulfil His purposes; and more especially those hostile human agencies whether of war, or of civil government (Rom. xiii. 4), or of popular rage, whereby men's lives are cut short. In any case the essential point is that the "sword" is invoked and (as it were) commissioned by Jehovah, although it is to act against His own Shepherd and Partner. One sees of course in a moment how it came true of our Lord. It

was "by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God" that He was delivered unto His foes, that they might do unto Him whatsoever God's hand and God's counsel determined before to be done (Acts ii. 23; iv. 28). Whatsoever theological difficulties may be involved in such statements, they were clearly and deliberately made. It was the Father whose decree awoke the sword against His beloved Son. But granting this, how does the type arise? Where is the historical basis on which alone it can stand secure? My answer is found in the application for which I have argued above—the application of these words to the prophet as bad shepherd, when he had thrown up his office as good shepherd. The sword was invoked in the type against a shepherd and a representative of Jehovah who had deserved condign punishment. It was invoked in the antitype against a Shepherd and a Representative of Jehovah who had not deserved it in the least, but who had nevertheless brought it upon Himself because He chose to be the Representative of all sinners. It does not matter in the least what theory of the Atonement we hold: it is certain that the sentence of the Sanhedrim "he is guilty of death" was *as much a foregone conclusion* in the eternal counsels of Heaven as in the infamous conclave of Caiaphas and his crew. People must take the consequences of their own doings. Since *He* had willed to identify Himself, in His infinite pity and desire to save, with all the wicked upon earth, He too must take the consequences, and the fate of the evil shepherd must overtake Him.

Thus our prophet was a rue figure of the Divine Shepherd not only in his work while he was faithful, not only in his shameful treatment when his work was over; but also in his mournful end when he endured the inevitable recompense of unfaithfulness and sin. It becomes quite plain and simple when we perceive that in the type the faithfulness and unfaithfulness were successive and both his own;

in the antitype co-existent—the one His own indeed, the other ours and only His as the Representative of fallen men, and amongst them of our prophet himself.

R. WINTERBOTHAM.

THE BAPTISM OF JOHN :

ITS PLACE IN NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

THE baptism of John is of more than doctrinal importance in the history of the apostolic age. There is reason to think that it has a critical significance in the growth and formation of the gospel tradition. The later disciples of the Baptist constituted a danger in the early Church, and the presence of the danger moulded to some extent the character of the gospel teaching.

It is at Ephesus that they first appear in the records of the Acts. It is said of Apollos that he had been instructed in the way of the Lord, and that he taught carefully the things concerning Jesus, “knowing only the baptism of John” (Acts xviii. 25). He is reckoned among Christian teachers, though it is implied that his teaching is defective. In the case of the Twelve, whom St. Paul found on reaching Ephesus, it is clear that their practice, as well as their teaching, was defective. They baptized into John’s baptism, which St. Paul regarded as invalid. The fault in their teaching is touched by the first question he put to them: “Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?” They were, on their own confession, ignorant of the Holy Ghost; they neglected Christian baptism, yet they were spoken of as disciples (xix. 1–7). They “were Christians, though imperfectly informed Christians.”¹ They were possibly, as Bishop Lightfoot suggests, whilst he warns against hasty conclusions, “early representatives

¹ Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 402.

of the Hemerobaptist sect"; and the suggestion gains strength when the authority of the record is examined more closely.

It is not sufficient to say that St. Paul met these disciples of the Baptist at Ephesus in the year 53 A.D. The question must be asked, on what authority the record rests. Are these notices of the baptism of John a part of the original source, or do they belong to the hand of the compiler? The literary criticism of the Acts must be considered, and its results weighed.

With regard to the narrative of Apollos, Jüngst¹ assigns the whole of xviii. 25 to the redactor. The source, A,² which forms the ground-work of the record, knows nothing of John the Baptist. The Jew Apollos is converted by Priscilla and Aquila in v. 26; yet in v. 25 he teaches accurately the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John. This is only consistent with the position assigned to the disciples of John as Christian disciples in xix. 2.

The narrative of these disciples of John in xix. 1c-7 is introduced by the redactor on the authority of oral tradition. Jüngst endorses the remark of Spitta³ that according to the analogy of the parallel notices of this source,⁴ St. Paul's activity in v. 8 in the synagogue at Ephesus should follow immediately upon the record of his arrival in v. 1. The giving of the Holy Ghost, through the laying on of the Apostle's hands, compares with the similar record incorporated in the source B by the redactor (viii. 18b-24), and contrasts with the action in the original sources.⁵

¹ *Quellen der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 168.

² Cf. EXPOSITOR, Oct., 1896, pp. 298-9. With the exception of the B fragments (xiii. 40, 41 and xv. 13b-19a, 20b), the Gentile source A is the only one used from xiii. onwards.

³ Jüngst, pp. 169, 170.

⁴ Acts xiii. 5, 14; xiv. 1; xvi. 13; xvii. 1, 10, 17; xviii. 1-4, 27, 28.

⁵ Acts x. 44, 47; xi. 15, 17 B a; cf., ii. 38 A.

Both notices of the baptism of John rest, according to the latest result of literary analysis, on the authority of the redactor. It is well, therefore, to note the other references to St. John the Baptist in the Acts.

The writer of the introduction (i. 1-5) refers in the charge of our Blessed Lord to the promise of the Father recorded in the "former treatise" (St. Luke xxiv. 49). The comparison of the baptism of John and the baptism with the Holy Ghost expands the notice of the promise, and brings it into special connection with the preaching of the Baptist (St. Luke iii. 16). The word of the Baptist thus becomes a word of the Lord (Acts xi. 16).

The speech of St. Peter on the occasion of the choosing of St. Matthias lays stress on the apostolic witness to the resurrection. The chosen apostle was to be a fellow witness with the original apostles. This witness appears to Spitta¹ to be unduly extended by the period "from the baptism of John unto the day that he was received up from us"; it would be longer even than the witness of some of the original Twelve. The passage (i. 21b-22a) agrees, however, with the position taken by the writer of the introduction to St. Luke's Gospel, and is ascribed, for these reasons, to the hand of the redactor.

There is a similar reference to the baptism of John, as the starting-point of the Galilean ministry, in the long interpolation in the speech of St. Peter (x. 36-43), an interpolation which, on other grounds, is attributed to the redactor.² It is important in this passage to note the reference, not only to the witness, but to the gospel teaching itself. "The word which he sent unto the children of Israel, preaching good tidings [the gospel] of peace by Jesus Christ (He is Lord of all), that saying ye yourselves know, which was published throughout all Judæa, beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached."

¹ Jüngst, p. 24.

² Jüngst, pp. 97, 98.

The writer has in view the early progress of catechetical instruction in the districts of Galilee and Judæa.

The speech of St. Paul at Antioch contains a reference to the preaching and baptism of St. John in xiii. 24, 25 ; but it is introduced when the speech has passed away from the early promises to their fulfilment in the Saviour. For this reason, as well as the close sequence of xiii. 23 and 26, the passage, like the other notices of the Baptist, is ascribed to the redactor.

In addition to these references in the Acts, there is an interesting notice in St. Luke's Gospel in our Lord's discourse on the Baptist (vii. 24-35). The record is closely parallel to that in St. Matthew ; but contains the following words in vii. 29, 30 : "And all the people, when they heard, and the publicans, justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected for themselves the counsel of God, being not baptized of Him." It is a question whether these words are part of the discourse or a narrative comment introduced, and therefore a reflection of the age of the compiler. The doubt is as old as the condemned reading, "and the Lord said." J. Weiss¹ does not pronounce definitely ; but Mr. Wright regards it without hesitation as an editorial note.² The passage implies that the Hemerobaptists, like the Essenes, were received with suspicion by the Pharisees.

In these scattered notices of the baptism of John, the writer of the Acts brings three points into prominence : the defect in teaching and in practice of the disciples of the Baptist ; the position of St. John as the Forerunner ; and the importance of the baptism of John as the beginning of the period of apostolic witness.

i. The first of these points is treated historically, in

¹ Meyer-Weiss, *Evang. d. Markus u. Lukas*, p. 407.

² A. Wright, *Synopsis*, p. 164.

reference to some irregularity in the early Christian teaching at Ephesus. The disciples of the Baptist taught the baptism of repentance, but did not know the true doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus, and the gift of the Holy Ghost through the laying on of hands, was the apostolic refutation of their heresy—the Church's witness to the true faith.

The historic value of the narrative depends upon the date to which the compilation of the Acts, and therefore the interpolations of the redactor, may be assigned. The character of the persecution reflected in the work of the redactor is a test of the period at which he wrote. Jüngst recognises this, and on the ground of (v. 41) "rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonour for the Name," he places the compilation in the time of Trajan or the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, giving as the most probable limit 110 to 125 A.D. He also brings forward in favour of this late date the wide range of Christian teaching (xiii. 49; xix. 10b, 25–27; xx. 29), and the contact between xix. 37–40 and the rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus.¹

In coming to this conclusion he does not appear to have given consideration to the argument of Professor Ramsay, in his studies on *The Church in the Roman Empire*. There are other references to persecution besides that in v. 41; and in them definite crime is regarded as a motive for persecution. Gallio would have listened to a matter of wrong or of wicked villany (xviii. 14); the town-clerk at Ephesus would have been more tolerant of the rabble had St. Paul and his friends been robbers of temples, or blasphemers of the goddess (xix. 37, 38); the chief captain thinks St. Paul is the Egyptian who had stirred up sedition (xxi. 38); Lysias finds nothing to charge against St. Paul worthy of death or of bonds (xxiii. 29); and

¹ Jüngst, p. 219.

Festus has the same opinion (xxv. 25, 27). These examples must be taken into account as well as the distinct case of persecution for the name in v. 41; and the position will be found similar to that in the First Epistle of St. Peter. The Christian communities in Asia are represented in this Epistle as suffering for the Name (1 Pet. iv. 14-16), and yet by avoiding crime, and living in obedience to the laws of the state, they may silence their accusers and keep themselves clear of persecution (ii. 11-15). The writer of the Epistle "stands at the beginning of the new period. He still clings to the idea that the Christians are persecuted because they are believed to be guilty of great crimes; the old charges of the Neronian time are still in his memory, and he hopes, if the absurdity of these charges be fully brought home to the minds of men, the persecution must be stopped." "This attitude belongs to one whose experience has been gained in the first period of Christianity in the time of Claudius and Nero, and who is now at the beginning of a new period. He recognises the fact that Christians now suffer as witnesses to the Name, and for the Name pure and simple; but he hardly realizes all that was thereby implied."¹ This statement meets the case of the writer of the Acts, as well as that of the writer of the Epistle; and if the argument thus based on Jüngst's analysis be correct, the interpolations in the Acts must be added to the list of the authorities for the Flavian period given by Ramsay.

The date assigned by Ramsay to the First Epistle of St. Peter is *c.* 80 A.D.; and by the same line of reasoning the compilation of the Acts may be placed in the same period. And this is the conclusion to which Professor Ramsay comes by a study of the synchronisms in St. Luke iii. 1, 2: "His chronological calculations were probably inserted as the finishing touches of Book i. (the Gospel) while Titus was

¹ Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.*, p. 282.

reigning as sole Emperor, 79–81 A.D. ; and the composition of that book belongs to the years immediately preceding, while the composition of Book ii. (the Acts) belongs to the years immediately following. The argument taken by itself would be insufficient, but it is confirmed by the impression which the book as a whole makes."¹

The irregularity in the Christian teaching at Ephesus was a matter of special interest and anxiety to the writer of 80 A.D. Jüngst suggests Ephesus as one of the places where the Acts was possibly composed.² The attitude of the disciples of John, hitherto of little serious note, had now become a danger, and apostolic teaching and action now acquired a new meaning in the Church. The defect in teaching had to be noticed ; the definite gift of the Holy Ghost through the laying on of the Apostles' hands emphatically confirmed the Church's teaching on the Person of the Comforter. The narrative in xix. 1–7 implies the existence of a Jewish-Christian sect which was already endangering the purity of the Faith.

The spread of Hemerobaptist principles had developed widely after the destruction of the temple and the Jewish polity. There was a considerable movement among the Jews in favour of frequent baptism, as the one rite of purification essential to salvation. The name and unique position of the Baptist gave a high authority to their practice. There was at the period of the composition of the Acts an active propaganda of these principles in Asia Minor.³ "The Sibylline oracle, which forms the fourth book in the existing collection, is discovered by internal evidence to have been written about A.D. 80."⁴ The writer was a Hemerobaptist rather than an Essene ; and though not distinctly Christian, Alexandre says of it : "Ipse liber haud dubie Christianus est."⁵ The interest of the work lies in

¹ Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 387.

² Jüngst, p. 219.

³ Lightfoot, *Col.*, pp. 403–406.

⁴ *Col.*, p. 96.

⁵ *Col.*, p. 97 n.

Asia Minor, especially in the cities of the Neander. It gives weight therefore to the internal evidence which points in the Acts to the presence of these principles at Ephesus.

It is possible that the Hemerobaptists of Ephesus had what may be called a pseudo-apostolic constitution. Weisäcker¹ suggests that the Twelve in xix. 7 has reference to the original apostolic college of Jerusalem. The suggestion must not be pushed too far, but it helps to elucidate a difficult point in the Epistle to the Church of Ephesus in the Apocalypse (Rev. ii. 2) : "I know that thou canst not bear evil men, and didst try them which call themselves apostles, and they are not, and didst find them false." There may be other allusions in this group of epistles to the propaganda in Asia, but it is only traceable through the Book of Elchasai² and the practice of the Essenes.³ The seven spirits and the angels (iii. 1, 5), the hidden manna and the new name which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it (ii. 17) have points of contact with the teaching of this book. The zeal for purity (ii. 24, iii. 4) and the white garments (iii. 4, 18) suggest the principles and practices of the Essenes. These epistles probably belong to the years 90-95 A.D.,⁴ and are therefore about ten years later than the composition of the Acts. They show, if they do refer to this teaching, a somewhat later and more dangerous development than that presented in the earlier work.

Ephesus became in the later apostolic age the sphere of the Apostle St. John, and it would appear that his authority and standing as a true disciple of the Baptist⁵ had great weight in exposing the errors of the false disciples who rallied round the name of his early master. The Gospel of St. John brings out the true relation between the Baptist and the Christ: "The same came for witness, that he

¹ *Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 341.

² Lightfoot, *Col.*, pp. 374-5.

³ Lightfoot, *Col.*, pp. 387-8.

⁴ Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.*, p. 300.

⁵ Westcott on St. John i. 35.

might bear witness of the Light" (i. 7); "he was not the Light" (i. 8); "he confessed, I am not the Christ" (i. 20); "he saith, Behold the Lamb of God" (i. 36); "He must increase, I must decrease" (iii. 30); "He was the lamp that burneth and shineth, and ye were willing to rejoice for a season in His light" (v. 35); "John indeed did no sign: but all things whatsoever John spake of this man were true" (x. 41). These passages give emphasis to the transitory character of the ministry of the Baptist, and meet the false claims set up by his so-called disciples. "In other words, this Gospel indicates the spread of Hemerobaptist principles, if not the presence of a Hemerobaptist community, in proconsular Asia, when it was written."¹

The presence of St. John at Ephesus after the Fall of Jerusalem had made Ephesus to some extent the headquarters of apostolic Christendom.² He was followed or accompanied thither by the Apostles St. Andrew and St. Philip,³ all intimately associated with the early ministry of the Baptist. Is it not to their joint influence that this particular form of Judaistic Christianity died out in the Churches of Asia after the close of the first century? There appear to be no clear intimations of Hemerobaptism in the Ignatian epistles. The baptism of Christ is alluded to in two passages: "For our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary according to a dispensation of the seed of David but also of the Holy Ghost; and He was born and was baptized that by His passion He might cleanse water" (Ep. Ephes., 18). He was "truly born of a virgin and baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him" (Ep. Smyrn., 1). The former passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians might be said to have reference to the sanctifying of the water of the One Baptism, taken as it is in connection with the ministry of the

¹ Lightfoot, *Col.*, p. 403.

² Lightfoot, *St. Ign.*, vol. i., p. 422.

³ Lightfoot, *Col.*, p. 46; cp. St. John i. 35-44.

Holy Ghost; the latter, on the fulfilment of all righteousness through the baptism of Christ, may be a reflection of Christian teaching on Baptism as opposed to the frequent lustrations practised by the Jews of the period and by their followers among the Hemerobaptists. But if there be any reference, it is so faint that it implies the passing away of the danger threatened in the years immediately after the Fall of Jerusalem. Christian baptism is upheld in the same language as is used on more than one occasion of the Eucharist: "It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a lovefeast" (Ep. Smyrn., 8). Its unity is recognised in the saying: "Let your baptism abide with you as your shield" (Ep. Polyc., 6). The Christian doctrine of the One Baptism had triumphed on the lines laid down in the teaching of St. Paul (Eph. iv. 1-6).

ii. The second point emphasized by the redactor of the Acts is the position of St. John as the forerunner (xiii. 24, 25, xi. 16, i. 5). The prophecy of Malachi iii. 1 is bracketed by Mr. Wright¹ in St. Mark i. 2b as not belonging to the first source. It occurs in the source from which St. Luke and St. Matthew draw in the section on the greatness of St. John the Baptist (St. Luke vii. 18-28 = St. Matt. xi. 2-11). Its transference to the prelude of St. Mark implies definite purpose. The prophecy of Isaiah with which the original source opens introduces the historic framework of the ministry of the Baptist, "the voice crying in the wilderness"; the prophecy of Malachi points on from the Baptist to Christ, and would therefore be an adequate argument from prophecy against those who regarded the Baptist as the Christ.² Our Lord's discourse on Elijah (St. Mark ix. 11-13) is based on the same prophecy (Mal. iii. 5), and the additional comment in St. Matthew draws attention to its

¹ *Synopsis*, p. 2.

² "Ex discipulis Johannis, qui magistrum suum veluti. Christum prædicarunt." Clem., *Recogn.*, i. 54; *ap. Lightfoot, Col.*, p. 404.

significance: "Then understood the disciples that He spake unto them of John the Baptist" (St. Matt. xvii. 13). These additions show that the false teaching connected with the name of the Baptist called for special emphasis in the later editions of the gospel narratives. They support the teaching of the compiler of the Acts as to the true position of the Baptist as only the forerunner of the Christ.

iii. The third point in the interpolations of the Acts is the place of the baptism of John in the apostolic witness. The witness extends, according to the compiler, from the baptism of John to the day on which Christ was received up (i. 22; cp. x. 37). The interpolation of i. 22 refers the reader to the recognised limits of the Gospel narrative. It is more than mere coincidence that it corresponds with the limits which the writer imposed upon himself in his own record of our Lord's ministry (St. Luke iii. 3, xxiv. 51). There is ground for believing that these limits had already received some sort of apostolic authority in the original form of gospel tradition as preserved in St. Mark. This earliest record of apostolic witness may very probably have been drawn up on the lines of the catechetical teaching in the Aramaic¹ Churches of Galilee and Judæa when Aramaic Christianity took refuge at Pella from the threatening disasters at Jerusalem.

This codification of Aramaic tradition, called forth by the demands of a Greek environment in the Decapolis, would take place between the years 70 and 80 A.D.; and if this supposition be reasonable, the presence at that time of Hemerobaptist teaching will have had some influence in determining the mould in which this tradition took final shape. The limits of the Baptism of John and the Ascension being once settled, were adopted in the other Gospels.

The opening sections of St. Mark's Gospel are important

¹ Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, pp. 67-70.

in their bearing on these false principles. The ministry of our Lord not only follows after the ministry of the Baptist, as is implied in Mark i. 14, it supersedes it (i. 7-8). The meaning of the prophetic prelude (i. 2b) has already been stated. The attractive power of the Baptist's preaching is presented, while its transitory nature is pointed out: "I baptized you with water, but He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost." The Baptist's own words are recorded as the best argument against the defective teaching of his disciples. The coming of the Holy Ghost upon our Lord at the baptism was a further proof to them of their error. It has been said "that the identification in the Gospels of the Holy Ghost with a dove grew out of the symbolism which was in vogue among the Hellenized Jews at the very beginning of the first century."¹ This familiar symbol would help them to understand the meaning of the narrative, and the authority conveyed by the Holy Spirit in the baptism of our Lord. The energy with which this authority is wielded is illustrated in the brief record of the temptation: "The Spirit driveth Him forth into the wilderness" (i. 12).

These three sections form the opening of St. Mark's record of the apostolic witness, and it is difficult in view of the defective teaching of the disciples of John to avoid the conclusion that the emphasis laid on the personal authority of the Holy Ghost was called out by their ignorance of Him. If the view thus taken is correct, the purpose of the gospel narrative in its earliest shape was as much influenced by the thought of the age and the circumstances of the district for which it was intended, as the purpose of the Gospel of St. Luke was moulded by the influence of Gentile ideas.

The ending of the original gospel records requires to be

¹ F. C. Conybeare, *Expositor*, June, 1894, p. 458. The citations used in support of this statement are mainly from Philo.

treated with somewhat more detail. It has been said above that there are grounds for believing that the limit of the apostolic witness given in Acts i. 22 represents the limit recognised at that time in the Church. The statement has been denied. "The result of textual criticism is to make it doubtful if there is any account of the ascension of our Lord in the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, and John contain no account of it. And the passage in Luke, which gives it, is put in the column of doubtful passages. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Luke means by 'he was parted from them,' a final separation from the disciples on that first day following the resurrection."¹

It is not necessary for the purpose of this argument to say more than that the word in St. Luke xxiv. 51 is equivalent to Acts i. 22. This does not, however, prove that it formed part of the original record. It is in a sense true to say that St. Mark contains no account of the ascension; this does not exclude the possibility that it formed the conclusion of the original apostolic witness as followed by St. Mark.

St. Matthew's Gospel preserves some part at least of the lost verses of St. Mark. The key to it is the promised meeting in Galilee (St. Mark xiv. 28, xvi. 7 = St. Matt. xxvi. 32, xxviii. 7). This parallelism proves it to be part of the original source. The sequel is lost in St. Mark; it is preserved in St. Matthew: "Thus saith Jesus unto them, Fear not: go and tell My brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there shall they see Me" (St. Matt. xxviii. 10).

¹ Gould, *St. Mark*, p. 309. Cp. the *ἀνάστροφος* of St. Luke xxiv. 51 with the *παράστροφος* of Acts i. 3; also the Ascension of St. John xx. 17 with the gift of the Holy Ghost xx. 22, and note St. John vii. 39 and 1 Timothy iii. 16, "received up in glory." This notice in St. John is a record of the Ascension on the day of Resurrection, distinct from that on the fortieth day, Barnabas xv. 9. It is therefore scarcely correct to say that St. John has no account of the Ascension. J. Weiss says plainly that the record belongs to the Gospel, the Acts opening with the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. Meyer-Weiss, *Mark: Luk*: p. 666.

The sequence is also traceable in the "fear" of St. Mark xvi. 8 = St. Matthew xxviii. 8, which is dispelled by the "fear not" in St. Matthew xxviii. 10.¹ The following section (xxviii. 11-15) does not belong to the same source; it connects with St. Matthew's narrative (xxvii. 62-66). The lost ending is resumed in St. Matthew xxviii. 16, where the promise of the meeting in Galilee is fulfilled. The original source containing the last words of Jesus is followed² until xxviii. 19, where it ends, the closing sentence (xxviii. 20) being distinctively Matthæan.³ Has it been substituted for the original ending to give finish to the purpose of the Gospel, or did the source end with the great baptismal charge? It is more probable that the former view is the correct one, and that the promise of the presence of Christ has been substituted for the fact of the Ascension.

The lost ending has been traced so far through St. Matthew; is it possible to follow it back again into the appendix of St. Mark? In this appendix Zahn has narrowed down the actual work of Ariston to xvi. 14-18.⁴ The two earlier appearances are not in narrative form. They are mere records dependent on the account of St. John and St. Luke. "Neither can the verses xvi. 19, 20 be termed a narrative of the Ascension and of the missionary activity of the apostles."⁵ But if not, whence are they derived? The reference to the preaching of the

¹ Resch will not allow this, *T. und Unt.*, x. 3, *Par. zu Lucas*, p. 767. The breaking off in different directions of Matthew and Luke after the parallels Mark xvi. 8 = Matthew xxviii. 8 = Luke xxiv. 9 precludes all possibility of restoring the original ending. But does not the parallelism between Matthew and Mark on the words from the cross, not to mention the special character of the Passion record in Luke, imply that there is in this portion of the records closer affinity between Matthew and Mark than between Luke and Mark, and that a negative inference based upon a divergence after the above-named parallelism is not warranted.

² It is doubtful whether xxviii. 19b, 20a, belong to the original source.

³ The phrase, "End of the World," occurs only in St. Matthew xiii. 39, 40, 49; xxiv. 8, xxviii. 20.

⁴ ⁵ *EXPOSITOR*, September, 1894, p. 224.

apostles and the "signs following" in v. 20 makes that verse dependent on the narrative of Ariston xvi. 15, 17. And is not v. 19 derived from the original source, preserved, perhaps, in some gospel known to the writer of the appendix, but since lost? The *λαλῆσαι* of v. 19 does not connect with xvi. 14-18, but it does continue the narrative broken off at St. Matthew xxviii. 19, where the charge of our Lord had been introduced by the words *ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς*.

"Jesus came to them, and spake unto them, saying, All authority hath been given unto Me in heaven and on earth. Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And Jesus, after He had spoken to them, was received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God."

The witness of i. 22 represents the true witness of the early apostolic record. The limits afford an adequate refutation of the defective teaching of the disciples of the Baptist. The opening record contains our Lord's baptism, the closing words are our Lord's baptismal charge. Thus definitely and clearly the baptism of John is superseded by the baptism of Jesus.

THOMAS BARNES.

ST. PAUL'S SHIPWRECK.

IN the attempt which I have made, following almost exactly the lead of James Smith, to understand and explain step by step the voyage and shipwreck as described in *Acts* xxvii. there is one point which was left confessedly obscure. Mr. Smith's view did not altogether satisfy me; but I had nothing better to offer, having never seen the locality of the shipwreck (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 341):—

“The only difficulty to which he has applied a rather violent solution is the sandy beach, v. 39; at the traditional point where the ship was run ashore there is no sandy beach; but he considers that it is *now worn away by the wasting action of the sea*. On this detail only local knowledge will justify an opinion.”

Mr. A. Emslie Smith, of Aberdeen, as the result of personal inspection of St. Paul's Bay (made in 1892 before my book was written), sends me a careful account of the situation, clears away all difficulty, and shows that even in this detail, which Mr. James Smith and I had failed to understand, the physical features of the Bay agree exactly with the narrative of Luke. The error which Mr. James Smith made, and in which I carelessly followed him, lay in understanding that the ship was run on the sandy beach.

Let us follow the narrative step by step, vers. 27–29, 39–41. About midnight the sailors became aware that land was near, detecting the sound of the breakers on the point of Koura (the eastern bound of St. Paul's Bay), past which the course of the ship carried them. They sounded and got a depth of twenty fathoms; and after a while they again sounded and found fifteen fathoms. Here they anchored by the stern (for reasons stated on p. 335), and the ship, which was on the starboard tack with her head pointing towards the north,¹ would then swing round, so

¹ Drifting west by north (more exactly W. 8° N.) under the combined influence of a wind E.N.E. and her sails and helm.

that she lay in the line of the wind with her head pointing a little south of west. The reason for anchoring was the fear that they might be cast on rocks; and in fact they were now near the rocky island of Selmonetta, which closes in the Bay on the west; and were running straight on it. The sailors heard the breakers ahead, and anchored, till day should dawn, and they might be able to make an attempt to avoid the rocks.

At day-break they found themselves in the following position, which may be described almost exactly in Mr. Emslie Smith's words. On their right bow, and extending also straight ahead, was a rocky land;¹ and they saw that, if they ran on it, they must go to pieces against the rocks with probable loss of all on board. On the left there opened before them the bay, running up to the south between two low ridges of hard limestone cliffs; these two ridges start respectively from Koura Point, and from Selmonetta Island, and continue away inland, having between them the geological fault or depression, called in different maps Wady Puales and Wied tal Puales. There is no appearance of any material alteration in the main features since St. Paul's time, except that the bay perhaps now extends a little further into the land. The reason for this is that the bay itself has been formed by the erosion of the softer strata that compose the bed of the geological fault; and this erosion has continued to proceed during 1800 years, and has therefore produced some further extension, more or less, of the bay southwards at the expense of the land. But there is now, and must always have been, a broad open sandy beach, at the head of the bay, where Wady Puales runs into it. This beach, upon which boats are drawn up, is composed of sand, pebbles, and light grey

¹ They would not, from this point, know that it was an island that lay in front of them: they would think that the west side of the Bay extended unbroken out to the northern extremity of the island (Selmonetta).

tenacious mud. Here Mr. Emslie Smith spent an hour, with his wife and son; and they gathered some living sponges that were growing in the shallow water.

Accordingly, Luke and the rest, as they looked anxiously from the ship, were aware of a sort of bay with a sandy beach, opening on their left, as the ship lay.¹ The problem, then, which was presented to the sailors, was to avoid the rocks, and to drive the ship on the sandy beach, *if possible*. As the last words (*εἰ δυνατόν*) imply, this was by no means easy. As they lay anchored by the stern, with the full strength of the wind behind them, they had the rocky ground right before them. It was necessary not merely to drift, but to guide the ship away to the south, off the direct line of the wind. They must therefore get up some sail; and they set the foresail to the breeze. Perhaps, as James Smith thinks, they had cut away the mast during the night; or, for some other reason, on which we need not delay, they preferred not to attempt to hoist the great sail further aft. If they were anchored only about a quarter of a mile from the land, it is obvious that their big ship, lightened of its cargo, with only a small foresail spread and a strong wind blowing, would have great difficulty in keeping off the west shore of the Bay, until they reached the sandy beach at its head.

Accordingly, after they had cast loose the anchor cables and let them go into the sea, and set free the two rudders (which they had, of course, tied up to keep them from being injured by the four stern-cables holding the anchors), and tried to work the ship by the foresail, they soon found that

¹ James Smith goes wrong in taking the bay or creek with a sandy beach to be some small opening in the west side of the Bay; he says there are two such openings, one Mestara (or Wied tal Mistra) valley with a beach, the other beside the passage between the island of Selmonetta and the mainland, where there is no such beach. He thinks rightly that the ship ran ashore at the latter; and unnecessarily suggests that there was formerly a sandy beach there, which has since been worn away. The "bay with a beach" is the whole Bay of St. Paul.

they could not keep off the lee shore long enough to reach the open beach. But as they came nearer the shore, they became aware of what was previously invisible to them: there was a passage where the sea behind Selmonetta communicated with the bay in which they were. They recognised that this opening, on which they had chanced, was a good place for their purpose; and they shifted their course, and drove the ship on the shallows between the island and the mainland. Here there stretches from Selmonetta towards the mainland a narrow or shallow bank of mud, the natural result of settlement arising from the shelter afforded by the island. In this bank of mud the prow stuck and remained immovable, but the after-part began to break up from the beating of the waves, while those on board were able to escape to the land close beside them through the comparatively sheltered water.

Mr. Emslie Smith rightly concludes, from the facts as he expounds them, that you have, as usual, only to place yourself as nearly as possible in the position described, in order to follow exactly Luke's narrative, and see precisely why he selects certain details and omits others.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ROMANS III. 25, 26.

AMONG the debts which we owe to the Revised Version of the New Testament, I know of none greater than its translation of these two verses, bringing out, as the Authorised Version does not, to almost any reader the profoundest truths of the ancient economy as they have been translated into fact under the Gospel.

The Authorised Version of these verses is this :—

“Whom God hath set forth for a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, *I say*, at this time His righteousness, that He might be just, and the Justifier of him that believeth in Jesus.”

On this translation I remark: (1) that sin is not remitted through the *forbearance* of God, but solely through His *mercy*. The word *πάρεσις* here employed does not mean “remission,” but “*passing by*,” a very different thing from remission. (3) The translation, “sins that are past,” is unfortunate, tending to make timid Christians think that only the past sins of believers, or sins committed by them before their conversion, are forgiven at first, whereas, when sin is forgiven to those who believe, it is forgiven once for all (Col. i. 13; 1 John i. 7).

The Revised Version of these verses is this :—

“Whom God set forth for a propitiation through faith, by His blood,¹ to shew His righteousness, because of the passing by of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God; to shew, *I say*, His righteousness at this present season; that He might be just.”

¹ I regret the change here made by our English Revisers, and I was glad the American Revisers retained the A.V. here. (See the *Notes* at the end of our copies of the Revised Version.)

The "sins done aforetime" (*προγεγονήματα ἁμαρτήματα*) mean the sins committed by believing Jews before Christ came to "put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself"; for it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin.

"Not all the blood of beasts
On Jewish altars slain
Could give the guilty conscience peace,
Or wash away the stain."

These sins, therefore, were only "passed by."

But *on the credit* of the atonement to be in due time made, all Jewish believers went to heaven. And that they *are* there, we are left in no doubt; for at the Transfiguration "*there talked with Him two men, which were Moses (representing the saints under the Law) and Elijah (representing the saints under the Prophets).*" It was a dialogue, it seems, for they talked (not to Him, but) *with Him*. What *their* part of the talk was, we are expressly told. It was not about the glory in which they appeared on the mount; no, it was "*about the decease which He was to accomplish at Jerusalem.*" They knew, it seems, what was passing here below. They knew, it seems, that upon that "decease" hung all their right to be where they were. They were watching its progress. They knew at what stage it had then come, and that it was near. He was "*about to accomplish*" it. With what rapt interest they watch its nearness, and I venture to think they would humbly cheer Him on; nor can I doubt that in their own way they would cheer Him on. Would not this be to Him a "song in the night"? What His part of the dialogue would be, I must leave the reader to conjecture for himself.

I have said that the profound truths which the apostle

here teaches to the Roman Christians about the saints of the ancient economy—that their sins were *not* atoned for, but only “passed by” till Christ should come to put them away by the sacrifice of Himself—this same thing is expressly stated in the Epistle to the Hebrews. For, at the close of the 11th chapter, after a long list of Old Testament saints who lived by faith, and by faith triumphed over every former persecution, “of whom the world was not worthy”—these (it is said) all died in faith, *not having received the promise* (the promised salvation); *God* having reserved some better *thing for us, that they, apart from us, might not be made perfect*, and both they and we might share alike in one salvation and one glory (Heb. xi. 39, 40).

DAVID BROWN.

HOMMEL'S "ANCIENT HEBREW TRADITION."

THE announcement that a book was to appear from the pen of Prof. Fritz Hommel on the subject indicated by the above title would be quite sufficient to ensure it eager anticipation and respectful hearing. The writer of these lines read the author's alluring work, *Die Semiten*, soon after it appeared, fifteen years ago. The graphic chapters in the earlier part of that volume on the Semites in Egypt, based mainly on Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, and the skilful attempt to trace the ancient migrations of the Phœnicians, followed by the vivid description of the early culture, language, and religion of Babylonia, from that time forth invested the beginnings of human civilization on the Nile and in Western Asia with an interest that gave a fresh impetus to all subsequent studies in this fascinating region. Prof. Hommel shares with Prof. Georg Ebers the faculty—somewhat rare among German savants—of investing his delineations with charm. His history of Babylonia and Assyria, which deserves to be better known, is replete with information on every page. Yet he never wearies the reader. His pages are never encumbered with such a crowded maze of details that no definite impression emerges from the weltering chaos—the *débris* and shavings of the German workshop in the form of footnotes, quotations, and parenthetical references to learned *Zeitschriften*, expressed in cipher, that make the life of an English student a burden. Prof. Hommel is endowed with literary and artistic sense. He carries the heavy weight of his great knowledge as an Orientalist—for he is eminent as an Arabist as well as a cuneiform scholar—with the ease, lightness, and grace of a youthful warrior.

During the last six years the attention of Prof. Hommel has been largely occupied with other studies than cuneiform. In the early days when he wrote *Die Namen der Säugetiere*, and exhibited the firstfruits of his studies in Sumerology, Dr. Hommel was chiefly known in England as a rising Assyriologist. But during the closing decade of this century a new field of exploration has been opened up in South Arabia by the indefatigable researches of Dr. Glaser, who has paid several visits to that region, and has brought back with him a rich store of epigraphic material which is now slowly disclosing its secrets. It should be observed that previous to Glaser's researches came those of Julius Euting, 1883-1884, whose name is chiefly connected with the Nabatæan inscriptions. Euting discovered in North Arabia many fragments in Himyaritic, *i.e.* South Arabian character. That Sabæan, and indeed Minæan inscriptions should be found in Northern Arabia was a fact of striking importance in the history of discovery.

These studies have added immense impulse to the work of Oriental scholars in this direction, among whom the names Halévy, Mordtmann, Müller, as well as Hommel himself, may be mentioned. Not very long ago it was generally supposed that Arabic possessed no records or civilization of any importance till the Mohammedan era. Thus we read in Bleek's *Einleitung*, 2nd edition (1865): "In the time of Solomon the Arabians appear to have been already celebrated for their wisdom, especially in proverbs, and yet nothing has been preserved to us from their literature in this and the following periods; the earliest we have being only a little anterior to Mahomet." And this is pretty much all that was at that date known, except among a very few scholars, as Rödiger. The history of the great Arabian branch of the Semitic race was then a vast and dim blank.

Yet even as early as 1834 Arabia was beginning to yield up its secrets, and it is interesting to know that it was the

travels of Lieutenant Wellsted, of the Indian Navy, a few years before our Queen's accession, which first drew attention to this important field. In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. iii. (1834) may be found an account of the "inscriptions in Abyssinian character" discovered by him at Hassan Ghorab, near Aden. These discoveries were shortly followed up by others, conducted by Assistant-Surgeon Hutton and Lieutenant T. Smith, in 1835, and by Charles J. Cruttenden in 1838. As in so many other fields of Oriental discovery, Englishmen have been among the pioneers, but unfortunately—perhaps owing to some inherent defect of our race—"scharfsinnig aber nicht tief," as a German philosophical historian characterizes us,—we do not build up the edifice of discovery by unwearied linguistic labour.

Through the researches of Gesenius and Rödiger in 1841, and of Fresnel in 1845, who utilized the inscriptions obtained by the bold French traveller Arnaud, a beginning was made in the identification of the alphabetical signs. These have been continued in later times by Osiander, Halévy, Prætorius, and Mordtmann. But during recent years we have been chiefly indebted to Dr. Glaser and to Dr. Fritz Hommel for an extended acquaintance with the language of the inscriptions. As for the alphabet, the key to its decipherment was its close resemblance to the earlier forms of the Ethiopic character, stripped, of course, of its secondary elements or vowel signs. It likewise bears a marked family likeness in many of its signs to the ancient Moabitic-Canaanite, but, like the modern Arabic as compared with the Hebrew alphabet, it is fuller, *i.e.* possesses distinct signs for the two varieties of פ and פ, as well as the distinctions in the sibilants ש, ש, and ש.

This South-Arabian, or (as it is now called) Minæo-Sabæan language, has been recently made accessible to the Semitic student through Hommel's *Süd-arabische Chresto-*

mathie (1893), to which I am indebted for some of the above details. This language was spoken as far back as the third millennium B.C., and continued till the days of Mohammed. This South-Arabian tongue extended in early times northwards, as we can clearly see from the Minæan inscriptions of El Oela in North Arabia. But the centres from which it spread were the kingdoms of Ma'in (or Ma'an, *Heb.* Ma'on) and Saba' (Sheba), from which the name given to the language is derived.

Unfortunately, Prof. Hommel's *Süd-arabische Chrestomathie* is lithographed, and in many places his modern Arabic is not clearly reproduced, though the representation of the Minæan characters is fairly distinct. Nevertheless, this marvellously elaborate and learned work gives us a clear insight into the language spoken by the Midianites and other tribes that surrounded the early settlements of the Hebrew race. In the near future the results here achieved by this brilliant scholar, extended and corrected by the decipherment and interpretation of the large store of material which Glaser has not yet published, must have a very decisive effect on questions of Semitic (especially Hebrew) lexicography and philology (*e.g.* noun and verb structure), and it will throw much needed light on many subjects of great importance to the Old Testament scholar.

As to philology, the absence of vowel signs unfortunately leaves us in some respects in a worse position than we are in the presence of Assyrian. True, we are never perplexed by the questions as to ideograms or alternative phonetic equivalents, since we have before us a genuine alphabet; yet it is often, as Prof. Hommel says, not easy to decide whether a verbal form is *kaṭula*, *kaṭila*, or *kaṭala* without resorting to comparative philology. But in the language, as at present ascertained, there are many points of great interest to the Semitic student. Modern and classical Arabic with its *Istaḥ'al*, or 10th (reflexive) conjugation, shows that the

4th or causative conjugation on which it is based, which is now *Af'al*, was once *Saf'al*. The initial sibilant has been weakened to an aspirate (as in Heb.), and finally lost (as in Aramaic). We find similar phenomena in the parallel forms of Greek and Latin. Now the ancient character of the Minæan Arabic is shown by the fact that this oldest *Saf'al* causative here reappears just as it does in Babylonian and Assyrian (*Shaf'el*). Similarly in Minæan we have the three personal pronom. suffixes, -*šu*, fem. -*ša* (plur. -*šumu*, -*šunā*), just like -*šu*, etc., in Babylonian. The Sabæan, on the other hand, has the corresponding forms beginning with *h*, as in modern Arabic. I mention this because these facts simply prove that in this feature Minæan and its more distant Semitic collateral Assyro-Babylonian take us back to the primitive Semitic (Ursemitisch), from which all the Semitic languages spring (See Hommel's own sketch of the primitive Semitic verb—*Semiten*, p. 55). To ascribe this feature in Minæan to Babylonian influence, as Prof. Hommel suggests in *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 118, appears to me most unscientific.¹ (Comp. his *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, p. 23 foll.)

To us the use and significance of this book lies not in its attempt to refute the "Higher Critics," which is a failure, but in the fact that we have here the somewhat crude firstfruits of what promises in the not distant future to be most important knowledge respecting the names of persons and places in the Old Testament derived from the *ascertained* results of the study of the Minæo-Sabæan inscriptions. Doubtless we shall learn much else.

Prof. Hommel is quite right when he says that "external evidence" must be the banner under which all students of Old Testament literature are to range themselves. But

¹ The reader, presumably a student of Hebrew, will also be interested in knowing that we have in this ancient Minæo-Sabæan language something closely akin to the Waw consec. idiom in the sequence of Perfect on Imperfect, and vice versa.—See *Süd. Arab. Chrestom.*, p. 27.

this must be under the two following provisos: (1) That *internal* evidence, *i.e.*, the evidence of the Old Testament itself, negative as well as positive in all its complex features, be not ignored; (2) That the so-called external evidence *be* evidence, and not a surmise or an interpretation of an obscure inscription which the next discovery may refute.

Now the grave defect of this book is that neither of these conditions is adequately observed.

I. As to internal evidence, Hommel's assumption that "it was in the Northern Kingdom that the final revision of both the book of the Judges and the Jehovistic narrative was carried out" (p. 289) is a statement so monstrously at variance not only with external probability, but with the contents of the documents themselves, that when I first read over the passage I thought that I must have misread it, or that there was a mistranslation, until the tenor of the subsequent pages led me to conclude that this was the deliberate opinion of the writer. For surely it is an astonishing thing for a scholar to gravely assert that sections like Judg. ii. 1b-6; ii. 19; iii. 7-18; iv. 22-24; vi. 1, 2; viii. 33-35; x. 6-8; etc., were written by the priests of the Northern Kingdom, whose lax practices were rebuked by Hosea (iv. 12, 13; vi. 9, 10; vii. 9; viii. 5, 11-14; ix. 1; x. 5-8; xi. 2; xiv. 8), and who, as Dr. Hommel assures us, "had only too often good reasons for either modifying or entirely suppressing portions of the traditions which would otherwise have become a standing reproach to themselves." As to the Jehovist document, Kuenen, it is true, considered that it originated with the Northern Kingdom, but here he stands almost alone among recent scholars. Prof. Hommel deservedly treats the late veteran scholar Dillmann with much deference. Dillmann, however, holds that the internal evidence of the Jehovist document decisively points to Judah as the land of its authorship (*Commentary on Numbers*, etc., p. 626 foll., *Genesis*, 6th ed.,

p. xiii.). Surely in face of the evidence which he cites, something more than bare assertion is required. Lastly, how are we, upon Hommel's assumption, to account for the canonical incorporation of works such as these into the Jewish canon without further revision? The fact is that the Deuteronomic addenda were the redactorial insertions of the later Judaism, without which hypothesis we are unable to understand the complexities in the problems of Old Testament literature.

Again, the passages Hosea viii. 13, ix. 3, which Hommel cites as based on Deuteronomy xxxiii. 68, in which return to Egypt is spoken of, present by no means the close parallel that our author supposes. It is gratuitous to assume that there is any quotation from Deuteronomy by the prophet. Returning to Egypt in the days of Hosea is by no means as far-fetched and improbable as our author seems to think. Let us remember that Egypt was the staff on which King Hoshea leaned just as Hezekiah did twenty years later. The threat of Assyrian invasion, and, still more, the invasion itself, probably drove many thousands of Ephraimite exiles into the land of the Pharaohs. Similar events happened in the Southern Kingdom in the days of Jeremiah.

II. We now come to the *second* condition, which deals with external evidence. Respecting the evidence from proper names in their bearing upon Babylonian as well as South Arabian religious ideas, we have certainly a copious array of examples provided for us, but the inference derived therefrom is startling. "If we substitute the simple word God, *ilu*, for the moon, the sun, or the sky, these names express no sentiment that is inconsistent with the highest and purest monotheism." That there may have been a fundamental Henotheism in early Semitic religion, and that a certain ethical sentiment on a level with that which existed in early Hellenic religion may have attached to the ideas of deity that prevailed in ancient Arabia, might be

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inferred from the proper names compounded with Ili on p. 83 or with Abi, Ammi, etc., on p. 85; but might not nearly as good a case be made for the Phœnician Baal as is here asserted of the Arabian *ilu*? The truth is that epigraphy is after all not literature. What we still want to know is the ideal content which lurked behind these names. If we had an ancient Arabic document of the same character and antiquity as the Egyptian Prisse papyrus, Prof. Hommel would undoubtedly have a much stronger case. As it is, even the verb *šaduḫa* attached to *Ammi* does not tell us much.

Respecting Genesis xiv., I find myself mostly in agreement with Prof. Hommel, but surely he spoils his argument by his attempt at literary analysis. Here the writer seems himself to turn "Higher Critic," and, for what appear to me to be inadequate reasons, divides the narrative (vers. 17-23) into two distinct recensions, in which the King of Sodom and Melchizedek respectively play their parts.¹ Moreover, his attempt to equate Bela' with Malgû on the basis of an obscure though very interesting tablet quoted on p. 196 foll. is hardly satisfactory, and what are we to think of the scientific sobriety of the following:—

"I frankly admit that what I have just said in regard to Bela' and El Pa'rân is mere conjecture, though none the less probable conjecture. It is therefore all the more necessary to lay emphasis on the fact that the name form Amraphel for Khammurabi is in itself amply sufficient to permit—nay, more, compel—us to assume that Genesis xiv. is based on a cuneiform original of the Khammurabi period produced in Palestine."

¹ I fully admit the difficulty occasioned by the contradiction in verse 10. The explanation usually adopted that only the followers of the king of Sodom 'fell' in Siddim is surely gratuitous. But a more satisfactory solution than that proposed by Hommel may be reached by holding that in verse 17 שֶׁם arose by a corruption of שָׁם, and that the same error was perpetuated in verses 21 and 22. For when the king of Sodom was once introduced into the drama he could not be left as a dumb personage. Verses 18-20 have been regarded by many as a later addition. Verse 20b certainly looks like a gloss.

As a matter of fact, there is no compulsion in the case. Schrader, in the days when Prof. Hommel persistently read *Ḥammurabi* as *Ḥammuragaš*, in an essay which first propounded the identification of Amraphel with *Ḥammurabi*, showed how easily the final *ḥ* in the Hebrew name arose through obliteration of a portion of the final *ʾ* in the early Canaanite script. This is a far more probable solution (*COT.*, ii. p. 330).

On matters of chronology I find it hard to follow Prof. Hommel. The whole problem turns on the question whether we are to believe with Hommel that the kings of the Uru-ku Dynasty (dynasty B) reigned contemporaneously with that of *Ḥammurabi* (dynasty A). If so, we bring the date of *Ḥammurabi* and by consequence that of Abraham about three centuries later than that usually assigned to them by Assyriologists as Winckler, Hilprecht, Delitzsch, Sayce, and others, viz., circ. 2250 B.C. The eleven names of Dynasty B stand on the reverse of the tablet on which the list of eleven kings of the *Ḥammurabi* Dynasty are recorded, and Dr. Hommel considers this list B, with its numbers, "open to grave suspicion, and that the whole constitution of this Uruku Dynasty gives the impression of an artificial scheme." The fact that we have eleven kings in both and that the sixth king in Dynasty B has a reign of fifty-five years, like the sixth king in list A, viz., *Ḥammurabi*, and that he moreover bears the somewhat artificial name, "Destroyer of the World," are certainly suspicious; and we have other curious points of coincidence in the numbers which shake our confidence in the validity of the reverse side of the tablet.

On the other hand, the date which Hommel assigns to the Exodus, 1280-1277 B.C., carries us so late that the veracity of the Book of Judges becomes seriously imperilled. The reign of Saul can hardly be assigned to a later date than 1037; and unless we adopt very largely the theory that

the judges of Israel were contemporary rulers, no adjustment of Biblical chronology is possible. This aspect of the question does not seem to have been considered by Prof. Hommel. In the light of the discovery recently made by Flinders Petrie (comp. p. 266 foll.), some scholars are asking themselves whether the Exodus did not take place at a much earlier date. If so, the Biblical scheme would postulate an earlier date for Abraham and his contemporary Hammurabi than that which Hommel assigns to them.

It would be impossible, within the compass of this paper, to refer to more than a very few of the numerous contributions made by this stimulating writer to our knowledge of Biblical names of persons and places. With reference to Genesis xiv., despite the questionable elements which have been introduced, we heartily rejoice in the fresh supports that have been given to the historical accuracy of what we have always regarded as substantially a very ancient narrative. In this respect the author stands where he did fifteen years ago, but in his attitude towards the main conclusions of the "Higher Criticism" his position, in our opinion, was sounder then than it is now (comp. *Semiten*, pp. 58, 74, 119). We have also to thank him for his very probable combination of the Hebrew Levi with the Arabian *lavi'a* (fem. *lavi'at*), i.e., the priest of the god Wadd, discovered by Euting upon inscriptions at El Oela (p. 278 foll.); the word *ḥat'at* for "sin-offering" (p. 322); also for the light thrown on the name Abida' (Gen. xxv. 3) through Hommel's combination of the descendant of Midian with the Minæan King *Abi-yada'a* (pp. 238, 272), and even for the more problematical combination of Midian with Muts-rân. With the latter we tentatively connect *mât Muşri* of the cuneiform records, which, as Dr. Winckler has recently shown, must be entirely separated from the like name bestowed on Egypt. (*mât*) *Muşri*, appearing in the annals

of Tiglath Pileser III., is situated near Edom,¹ and this is supported by an interesting confirmation from Glaser, who, as we learn from Winckler,² found on a Minæan inscription (Hal. 535), a place מִשְׁר bordering on מִנְאָן.³ This land Muṣr became confounded with Egypt. Thus Hagar was possibly—indeed probably—a native of this country, and not Egypt (comp. Gen. xvi. 1, xxi. 9). Winckler, indeed, rides this hobby to death. For, according to this revolutionary writer, who goes beyond Stade in this respect, Israel never dwelt in Egypt, but in this North Arabian region. Here we see the peril of one-sidedness produced by some new discovery. We look at everything, now through Babylonian, now through Minæo-Sabæan spectacles. Dr. Hommel is not free from this infirmity. In his farewell pages he invites us to quit Fried. Delitzsch's far more probable domicile for Paradise in Babylonia, and go to seek it among the uninviting wadis of North Arabia, for reasons which cannot be regarded as sufficient or satisfactory.⁴

Hommel, indeed, by his theory respecting Goshen, seems to build a most ingenious bridge in the direction of Winckler's contention, for he gives Goshen a wide lateral extension

¹ Winckler, *Altoriental. Forsch.*, i. p. 24 foll.

² *Altoriental. Forsch.*, iii. p. 289.

³ Respecting this inner plur. of a tribal name מִנְאָן, and מִשְׁר as abbreviation of מִשְׁרָא, see Hommel's *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, p. 8, footn. 1. Comp. also Glaser's *Mittheilungen*, p. 64, for examples of similar plural forms, frequent in the names of South Arabian tribes.—In an appendix to the *Aufs. u. Abh.* we have a useful reproduction and also a translation in full of this important inscription, Hal. 535. Comp. *Anc. Heb. Trad.*, p. 249.

⁴ The identification of Iḥiddekel with the Wady (Iḥadd) of Diklah (p. 315) is very far fetched. As for the identification of Ḥawilah, this has been fully and ably discussed by Glaser (*Skizze der Geschichte u. Geographie Arahens*, II. Band, p. 323 foll.). But his ingenious attempt to reconcile the passages: Gen. ii. 11; x. 7, 29; xxv. 18; 1 Chron. i. 9, 23, under a common geographical expression fails to convince me. חַוִּילָה in 1 Sam. xv. 7 is given up by most commentators as a corruption, probably, as Glaser suggests, of חַכִּילָה (1 Sam. xxiii. 19; xxvi. 1, 8), in the wilderness of Zif, south of Hebron.

towards Edom (p. 227). He might have gone a step further, and placed the crossing of the Yam Sûph at the Elanitic gulf, which in fact bore this name (Num. xxi. 4). Probably M. Naville would object to this proceeding, since he identifies Succoth with Pithom = Patum. But the argument would not be absolutely fatal, as our knowledge of the locality of Succoth is necessarily vague, and the name suggests nomadic surroundings.

Prof. Hommel's theory, that the tribe of Asher had its seat in Edom, that Ashûr is an internal plural of the same word (cf. Gen. xxv. 3), and that Shûr is merely an abbreviation (Gen. xvi. 7-14; xx. 1; xxiv. 62; xxv. 11), is enforced with considerable ingenuity and fulness of illustration in chap. viii. Armed with this fresh identification, the author proceeds to apply it to Balaam's prophecy (Num. xxiv. 21-24), and certainly gives an entirely novel interpretation to a well-known oracle. But the writer also startles his readers by the assertion that the tribe of Asher entered Canaan about a century earlier than the rest of Israel. This is certainly a bold departure from Biblical tradition (Num. x. 26; xiii. 13, etc.), and will probably occasion some misgivings. The radical defect of the book is that the author seems utterly unable to draw any distinction between speculation and ascertained facts. Doubtless to our poor human perception the margin is a very shadowy one. Yet it is surely patent to every sober-minded scholar that a considerable portion of the matter contained in this book, that has been offered to the uninitiated English public with indiscriminating and enthusiastic confidence, should, in the interests of Biblical science, have been withheld. In our opinion the present work will not enhance the reputation of the distinguished author of *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

*THE CHARACTER OF THE PROPER NAMES IN
THE PRIESTLY CODE: A REPLY TO PRO-
FESSOR HOMMEL.*

IN his great commentary on the Hexateuch¹ Dillmann defended the antiquity of the personal names in the Priestly Code against Wellhausen, who had found many of them to be late and artificial compounds. Prof. Hommel, in his recent work,² returns to the same subject, and derives from these names the main argument in an attack which, he confidently asserts, has overthrown the Wellhausen school of criticism. I propose in the present article to confine myself to an examination of this particular argument. It plays so large a part in Hommel's attack that it may well receive independent treatment, and the more so because the way in which he has approached the question has seriously obscured the issue. The question is not—Does the Priestly Code contain ancient material? For that, particularly in the case of the names, is inconclusive. The crucial question is—Does it contain nothing but what is in every respect ancient? In other words—Was it *compiled* late or early?

In the preface to the English edition of his book Prof. Hommel refers to a recent work of my own³ in which I also was compelled to consider the historical character of the proper names in the Priestly Code. My conclusion with regard to this—it is far from being, as Prof. Hommel describes it, the main conclusion of my work—was that many of the names were genuine and ancient, but that some were of much more recent formation, and that

¹ See more particularly on Num. i. 5-15.

² *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, published simultaneously (May, 1897) in England and Germany.

³ *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, 1896 (November).

certain *lists* of names (such *e.g.* as we find in Num. i., xiii.) were artificially compiled at a late period, since among the names that composed them, names of certain types—rare, though not in all cases unknown, in early times—occurred in much larger numbers than would have been the case in genuine ancient lists.

Unintentionally no doubt, but none the less actually, Prof. Hommel refers to my book in very misleading terms. I lay no great stress on the fact that he considers that "it indicates in its main conclusion a retrograde movement when compared with Nestle's work," for retrogressive in such a connection simply means less in accordance with the writer's own views. And, again, I am willing to believe that the printer may be partly answerable for attributing to me a sentence I never wrote; certainly the sentence placed in inverted commas in Prof. Hommel's Preface, as though cited from me, is not mine. But I must warmly protest against the direct statement and a serious implication of the last two sentences of the Preface. Prof. Hommel's book is not, as he there asserts, a reply to my contention; for it never even approaches the main and crucial part of my argument. Granting—what indeed is very far from being the case—that Prof. Hommel had proved that every single individual name in P was ancient, the unusual proportion of the compounds with *el* to the whole number, and the large proportion of a certain type of these compounds themselves would still demand explanation. My own explanation may or may not be right, but Prof. Hommel has neither shewn that it is wrong nor offered any alternative explanation. The implication of which I complain is that my book was written with a disregard of "material obtained from the inscriptions." The implication is false. I wrote throughout with constant reference to the valuable comparative data obtainable from these sources.

I have drawn attention to this Preface because it is undesirable that the question of the names in the Priestly Code should be prematurely closed. Whichever view be taken of the names and of the lists which they compose—that they are in every respect ancient or that they are to a greater or less degree modern—they are marked by striking peculiarities which have not yet been completely and satisfactorily explained, and many of which have not even been considered by Prof. Hommel.

With a view then to a further elucidation of these peculiarities, I will discuss in detail the differences between Prof. Hommel's explanation of these names and my own. In the first place our mode of approach is different. "One of the main objects" of Prof. Hommel's book "has been to adduce external evidence (*i.e.* from contemporary inscriptions) to shew that even from the time of Abraham onwards personal names of the characteristically Mosaic type were in actual use among a section of the Semites of Western Asia" (p. x.). And this, be it observed, is all that Prof. Hommel either has done or, with our present resources, can do: he cannot adduce external evidence to prove that the Hebrews in the time of Moses used such names as are attributed to that period in P: for such external evidence does not exist. We have no Hebrew inscriptions of the period. It is precisely the absence of direct external evidence that leaves, and for the present must leave, many matters, matters of inference rather than of fact. My own discussion of these names is, on the other hand, subsidiary. My main purpose was to trace the history of Hebrew names; for this purpose it was necessary to confine one's attention in the first instance to literature that was generally recognised as being approximately contemporary with the persons named—in other words, to exclude Chronicles, a work admittedly of no earlier date than the 3rd century B.C., and of P, whose date was matter of dispute. Then with

the results so obtained the character of the names in Chronicles and P had to be separately compared. The comparison brought to light conspicuous dissimilarities which I explained in the case of Chronicles as being due to a large admixture of late family and personal names, and in the case of P partly to the presence of some late names, but even more to the names (in particular lists) having been selected from various sources to the exclusion of all compounds with *yah*, but with a preference for compounds with *el*.

One consequence of this difference in approaching the subject is that it is difficult to be quite sure how far Prof. Hommel and myself are in agreement. Thus, while my proof of the late character of many of the Chronicler's names is independent of my view of the names in P, my judgment with reference to P's names does *in part* depend on my previous conclusions with reference to the Chronicler's, and there is nothing to shew whether Prof. Hommel would accept those conclusions, and, if not, on what grounds he would reject them. All that he has to say on the subject in the present work¹ is that the names in 1 Chronicles contain much ancient material (p. 302 n.)—a conclusion with which I fully agree, and which I had anticipated Prof. Hommel in stating (*Hebr. Prop. Names*, pp. 233 ff.). But the crucial question is—How much and what of this material is ancient? The failure to deal with this question vitiates to no small extent, in my judgment, the method of Prof. Hommel's discussion. For he attempts to defend the antiquity of a certain set of Hebrew names without any adequate reference to the history of Hebrew names in general. His

¹ In earlier works Prof. Hommel has spoken very unfavourably of the general historical value of Chronicles. In *Ed. Glaser's hist. Ergebnisse u.s.w.* (1889) he pronounces the notices peculiar to Chronicles as resting on "halb tendenziöser, halb naiver freier Erfindung," p. 5. Cf. also *Aufsätze u. Abh.* (1892), pp. 3, 49.

recurring mode of argument is this—Such and such a name was in use at a certain period among the South Arabians;¹ therefore the same name or a name of the same or similar formation or significance was in use at the same time among the Hebrews. Such an inference will, under certain circumstances, possess probability; but when it conflicts with direct Hebrew evidence it is without weight, and when it is contradicted by inferences from the history of Hebrew names it is most unsafe. In other words, due weight must be given to both the historical and the comparative methods, to the inferences suggested by the history of Hebrew names, as well as to the inferences suggested by more or less contemporary non-Hebrew names. It would be disastrous to abandon the former at the call of Prof. Hommel to range ourselves under the banner of “external evidence,” since the existing “external evidence,” valuable as it is, is, so far as the present subject is concerned, indirect. Had Prof. Hommel only given due consideration to the historical method, he would, as I shall show below, have seen that even what he terms “external evidence” offers its own weighty contribution against the view he was propounding.

There are, however, definite points of agreement between us to which it may be well briefly to refer. We are agreed that compounds with *ab* (father), *ah* (brother) are ancient formations which comparatively early (say before the 8th century B.C.) fell into disuse among the Hebrews; and further, that compounds with *‘am* (a kinsman) belong to the same early period, my main difference here being

¹ The Arabian names cited by Hommel are drawn from two main sources. (a) The South Arabian Inscriptions. According to the highest estimate, these date from 900 B.C., and later, and in the case of one group (the Minæan) according to Glaser, from something prior to 1000 B.C. (b) Babylonian contract tablets from as early as circ. 2000 B.C. Hommel's argument for the S. Arabian character of these names appears to me strong, and, at least for the purposes of this article, will be accepted.

that I consider a single apparent instance (Ammi-Shaddai) open to some suspicion of artificiality. Again, we agree that compounds with *ba'al*, *melek*, and *adōn* came into use after the entry into Canaan and fell into disuse before the Exile. Only in our interpretation of the first of this class of names we widely differ, for I notice with great surprise that Prof. Hommel (like Kuenen) takes Baal¹ in these names to be the proper name of a rival deity to Jehovah, and not, as I have concluded with many others² on what I believe to be very convincing evidence, a title applicable to Jehovah as well as other gods.

The points of agreement to which I have just referred have in the main been long established. But I carried the analysis of certain classes, especially of the various formations with *el* and *yah*, much further. This has not been observed by Prof. Hommel, with the result that many of my conclusions with which he disagrees rest on evidence he has not considered.

Even when we come to the names in P there is still some common ground between us. Of the five characteristics which I attributed to these names, Prof. Hommel agrees with me in regard to three, and differs in regard

¹ From this it would follow that David, who calls one of his sons Baaliada (=Baal takes knowledge) worshipped Baal as well as Jehovah. Prof. Hommel (p. 304) glides very gently over this point, and makes the statement that the name was altered to Eli-ada "probably during David's lifetime." But the probability hardly rests on anything but the assumption that David cannot have remained a Baal-worshipper all his life. As Prof. Hommel adduces no new evidence for his view, I must differ from him, as I ventured to differ from Kuenen, and decline to admit that David ever recorded in one of his children's names his devotion to another god besides Yahweh. The other passage (pp. 225 f.) in which Prof. Hommel refers to Baal names is exceedingly misleading. No one has ever disputed, so far as I am aware, that there was a great "struggle between the cult of Yahweh and the Canaanite cult of Baal." Again, the very questionable theory of the relation between Yahweh and Yah (that the latter is the original and the former the derivative form) has not a vestige of support in the traditional account.

² E.g. Bæthgen, *Beiträge*, pp. 141-4; Schultz, *Old Testament Theology*, I. 148; König, *Hauptprobleme*, pp. 85 f. See further the note in my *Hebr. Prop. Names*, p. 138.

to two. He clearly agrees with me, though no doubt he would express himself in somewhat different language—that (1) “the names—even those *peculiar* to P—are not similar in character to those current in *ordinary life* in the post-exilic period.” (2) “Some of the names peculiar to P do not appear to have been coined by the author, nor by any late writer, nor to have been current after the Exile.” (3) “Some of the names borne by persons mentioned only in P, but also by other persons mentioned elsewhere, are early in character, and a few are not known to have been current late. We differ on two points. I have asserted that (1) “the names in P are not as a whole pre-Davidic in character,” and (2) “that some of the names are late artificial creations.” Prof. Hommel directly denies the second, and indirectly traverses the first. I will consider (2) first. If (2) stands, (1) follows; but even if (2) can be shown to be unwarranted, (1) would still remain almost unaffected, for the main argument in its favour is independent of (2).

The names on which I directly based¹ my conclusion that some of P's names are late artificial creations are (a) six² compounds with either Tsûr or Shaddai; (b) compounds with a preposition or participle—Lael and Shelumiel; and (c) “perhaps certain others,” *e.g.* Pedahel and Nethanel. The question mainly turns on the compounds with Tsûr or Shaddai. Did the ancient Hebrews or did they not employ names of this type? According to P they not only employed them, but employed them with some frequency. Five³ out of a list of twenty-four names of

¹ As a result of my general conclusion, I selected seventeen compounds with *el*, which I considered to be probably of late creation (p. 210). The bearing of Prof. Hommel's discussion on these I consider below.

² Pedah-tsûr, Elitsûr, Tsurîel, Tsurî-Shaddai, Ammi-Shaddai, Shaddai-ur (E. V. Shedeur; also *z* for *ts* in *tsur*).

³ Including עֲרִיאֹר (Num. i. 5), which, in spite of the Massoretic pointing, is generally admitted to belong to this class.

tribal princes and their fathers given in Numbers i. (and repeated in ii., vii., x.), and one out of six names in a corresponding list of Levites (ch. iii.), are of this type, *i.e.*, exactly a fifth of the whole number of names in these lists are of a type of which no single trace is found elsewhere in Hebrew literature. This is a striking and significant fact which calls for serious explanation. To say, as Dillmann said, that these names are ancient because they never occur "later" is simply to beg the question. The proper neutral statement is that they never occur *elsewhere*. Thus, *e.g.*, they are absent from the prophetic narrative (J E) of the Mosaic period. Consequently, unless we *assume* that everything in P is ancient, a decisive judgment as to the antiquity of these names must be based on other considerations. Briefly summarized, the considerations on which my own judgment was based were these: (1) Shaddai,¹ although unquestionably an ancient term for God, judged by its usage in Hebrew literature, was not in frequent general use at any time among the Hebrews, but occurs most as an archaism (thirty-one times in Job). (2) Tsûr used absolutely² of God (as in the name Pedahtsûr) occurs in Hebrew literature only in Deuteronomy xxxii. 16 (cf. xxxii. 37) and Habakkuk i. 12, *i.e.*, on generally accepted critical grounds, not earlier than the seventh century. (3) The root פִּדָּה found in Pedahtsûr is in names found

¹ In speaking of the name Ammi-Shaddai in connection with the Mosaic age, Hommel says (p. 110): "It contains the subsequently obsolete Divine name Shaddai." This is misleading: as a matter of fact Shaddai was unquestionably in use as late as the Exile (Ezek. i. 29; x. 5; Isa. xiii. 6).

² On further consideration I question whether Tsur is ever used *absolutely* of God in O. T. In Deut. xxxii. 18 and 37, where it occurs without the article, it is virtually defined by the following relative clause. In vv. 15, 30, 31 of the same chapter the definition is still more manifest. In none of these cases is the usage really like that in פִּדָּה־צוּר, which is paralleled, if at all in the O. T., only in Hab. i. 12—a passage in which the text, especially as regards the word צוּר, is uncertain; cf. the *Beilagen* to Kautzsch's Bible. In Deut. xxxii. 4, הצוּר may perhaps be considered to be *on the way* to become personal; cf. הַשֵּׁשֶׁן in Job.

only in those which are unquestionably late, or attested only by documents of late or uncertain date. (4) The *prefixing* of the perfect tense (as in *Pedahtsûr*) is one of the commonest formations of the later periods, but almost if not entirely unknown to the earliest;¹ thus in the earliest pre-Davidic period among compounds with *yah* or *el* (attested by writings other than P or Chronicles), the perfect is post-fixed in five names, but it is prefixed in *none*; on the other hand, in names which can be first traced in post-exilic times, the perfect is post-fixed in *no* case, but it is prefixed in twenty-six.

Of these various considerations Prof. Hommel has taken no account. He has, however, brought forward other considerations worthy of attention. He claims to have found parallels (hitherto uncited) for the use of both *Tsûr* and *Shaddai* in compound names. The case with regard to *Tsûr* is clear. It occurs in *Tsûri-'addana* (cf. Hebr. *Yeho-'addan*), a name found on a South Arabian inscription not later than the 8th century B.C. Prof. Hommel also (and probably enough correctly) detects *Tsûr* as a Divine term in *Bir-* (or *Bar-*) *Tsûr*, a North Syrian name of the 8th century (*Zinjerli* inscription). By an *inference* he then refers the usage of *Tsûr* as a Divine name in Midian to a much earlier period, and considers this "of decisive importance in determining the antiquity of Hebrew names compounded with *Tsûr*" (p. 321). Prof. Hommel rather confuses inferences and facts. It is important to distinguish them. The fact is that one certainly, and perhaps two² or three other Semitic compounds with *Tsûr* can be traced to the

¹ The comparative data employed by Hommel support, as I shall show further on, the validity of this conclusion.

² I have drawn attention (*Hebr. Prop. Names*, p. 195 n. 1) to the possibility of *Tsûr* in *Beth Tsûr* being a Divine name. We cannot be sure of the antiquity of this name, since it is only mentioned by P (*Jos. xv. 58*) and unquestionably late writings—*Neh.*, *Chron.*, and *Macc.*; but, being a place name, the probability that it is fairly ancient may be admitted.

8th century B.C. The inferences are: (1) that such compounds were also in use five or six centuries earlier; and (2) that they were used by the Hebrews as well as by North Syrians and South Arabians.

As regards Shaddai, Prof. Hommel adduces no new names, but offers a fresh explanation of a now familiar name, which, if accepted, furnishes us with a very close Arabic parallel to Ammi-Shaddai. The name in question is Ammi-satana, borne by a Babylonian king of the Khammuri Dynasty (which was of Arabic origin), who lived not later than about 1820 B.C.; and is interpreted "My uncle is our mountain," *sata* being treated as = Ar. *saddu*, and the final *-na* as the Arabic form of 1st pers. plur. pronominal suffix. But *saddu* also = Hebr. Shadd(ai); and thus the only difference between Ammi-satana and Ammi-Shaddai is that in the one the suffix is plural and in the other singular, just as at a later date (8th century) we have the Assyrian names Marduk-shadûa = Marduk is my mountain, and Sin-Shadûni = Sin is our Mountain. But all this is mere possibility—a theory based on one unproved conjecture after another. I draw attention briefly to these points: (1) The transliteration of the second element in Ammi-satana is uncertain. Maspero¹ adopts Ammi-ditana. (2) Granted *satana* be correct, Prof. Hommel's interpretation of it has not yet been accepted by Assyriologists. The possibility of its being 3rd perf. of a verb remains. (3) In view of the root meaning "to stop up," and the fact that derivative nouns signify a barrier, or dam, the Arabic *saddu* appears to designate a mountain as an *obstruction*, not as a lofty height.² (4) Shaddai as a Divine name did not convey to the Hebrews the meaning "*my* mountain," since in

¹ *Histoire Ancienne*, Tome II. p. 45 n. 2.

² Others who, like Fried. Delitzsch (*Hebrew Language in the Light of Assyrian Research*, p. 48), have previously given to Shaddai the meaning mountain (not *my* mountain) have based the meaning on the Babylonian *šadû* = lofty height, mountain.

that case Yahweh would be made to say, "I am El, my mountain!" (Gen. xvii. 1). In other words, in the narrative of P Shaddai standing by itself cannot have had the sense which Prof. Hommel would attribute to it in the names Ammi-Shaddai, etc.

Assuming however for the moment the correctness of the proposed view of Ammi-satana, what ought to be our conclusion with regard to the six names compounded with Tsûr or Shaddai? Ammi-Shaddai would probably enough be an ancient Semitic name; the other two compounds with Shaddai (Shaddai-ur and Tsûri-Shaddai) might reasonably on analogy be judged to be genuine Semitic personal names. Similarly, in view of Tsûri-addana, the compounds with Tsûr may be accepted as actual personal names. But several of the considerations derived from a study of the history of Hebrew names remain unaffected. The comparative frequency of the names in P's lists still stands in striking contrast to their entire absence from all other Hebrew sources and their extreme rarity in other Semitic sources. The use of פֶּדֶה and the prefixing of the perfect in one of the compounds remain as before, suggestive of late date. It still seems to me, therefore, that the hypothesis that P's lists are late artificial compilations from names of various sources and periods alone accounts, even in the case of this particular group of names, for all the facts—those derived from the Hebrew as well as from the inscriptional sources.

Lael, so far as I have observed, is not discussed by Prof. Hommel. Shelumiel he does not regard as compounded with a participle. I will not therefore discuss these names afresh. Interesting as they are in themselves, they are too isolated and uncertain to form by themselves any strong argument for artificiality or lateness of formation.

Turning now to the general complexion of P's names, I have first to repeat that Prof. Hommel never once consi-

ders this important aspect of the question. Briefly to summarize my argument on this point: Of twenty-nine compounds with *el* peculiar to P, *el* forms the last element in twenty-five, the first in only four. But in pre-Davidic names attested by Hebrew literature (exclusive of P and Chr.), the Divine name (*el* or *yah*) stands as frequently first as last;¹ an increasing tendency can be traced through the history to post-fix the Divine name till in post-exilic (as in P's) names the post-fixing occurs many times more frequently than the pre-fixing. Again, P contains two or three names in which *el* is post-fixed to a perfect—a formation which was, as I have shown, frequent in post-exilic, but unknown in pre-Davidic names. Then when we turn to some of the lists in P we find—(1) The number of compound names much larger than in other early lists, but in approximately the same proportions as in later lists; and (2) a striking and unusual proportion of compounds with a Divine name (especially *el*). Further, in several respects,² there is a close resemblance between P's compounds with *el* and those found in the list of angelic names in Enoch c. vi.

Here then is a whole series of similarities between the general complexion of the names in P and the general complexion of post-exilic names; the one striking dissimilarity is the absence of compounds with *yah*—for which, if the lists be artificially selected, there would be abundant reason (cf. Exod. vi. 3), and to which we have a parallel in the list of angels' names in Enoch.

As Prof. Hommel has left all this unnoticed, there are no

¹ This is stating the case most favourably. In further detail, cf. *Hebr. Prop. Names*, pp. 159, 166 (Table 1), with special reference to the footnote on p. 166.

² I may add as a *possible* additional resemblance in a matter of detail to those more general resemblances mentioned in my book the name *Τυμὴλ*. Is the first part of this word the Aramaic *ܬܘܪ*=mountain? If so, we have a curious parallel to *ܬܘܪܝܐܠ*—one of the names peculiar to P.

criticisms of his to reply to. I will, therefore, only point out how the comparative evidence to which he attributes primary and almost exclusive value supports my view as against his own. He has not furnished us with exact statistics of the different formations of South Arabian names, nor have I yet—as I hope, unless anticipated, to do at some future time—been able to compile them for myself. But the large number of South Arabian names cited by Prof. Hommel, into which either *ilu* (= *el*), or an equivalent expression (*e.g.* *abi*) enters, may presumably for present purposes be taken as sufficiently typical; *i.e.*, there is no reason to suppose that Prof. Hommel has cited a larger proportionate number in which the divine element is the first than in which it is the second element, especially since he was aware that suspicion rests on certain Hebrew names on account of the post-fixing of the divine name. On pp. 83f. Prof. Hommel cites nineteen names in which *ili* precedes a perfect, five in which it follows an imperfect; three (+ three possible, but, in Prof. Hommel's judgment, unlikely) instances in which it follows a perfect; *i.e.*, in all nineteen names in which *ili* is the first, eleven in which it is the second element. Again, on pp. 85f. he cites forty-seven names in which *abi* or a similar element *precedes*, three in which it *follows* a perfect.¹ The same preference for prefixing the divine element, which we find in early South Arabian names and in Hebrew names referred to the earliest periods by writings other than P and Chronicles, prevailed in Babylonia. Speaking of early Babylonian names, and having just cited a number in which the divine element stands second, Prof. Hommel proceeds:—

¹ Cf. p. 81 f. "Now, it is interesting to observe that it is not till we come to neo-Sabæan inscriptions [200 B.C.—600 A.D.] that Shamsum, Aum, Athtar, and other names of deities . . . appear as the second element in personal names, and even then they do not occur nearly as often as *ilu* = God, which, moreover, appears frequently as a first element."

"Even more numerous are those names compounded of two elements in which the *first* element consists of the name of a deity. From an examination of instances it is clear that a much greater freedom was allowed in the choice of verbal forms which might be tacked on after the name of a god. While verbs and participles are of comparatively rare occurrence as first elements, they are quite common as second elements" (p. 74).

To sum up, then, the compounds with *el* peculiar to P regarded all together, present in respect of formation a striking dissimilarity to early Hebrew compounds with a divine name (as attested by Hebrew literature, exclusive of P and Chronicles), to early South Arabian, and to early Babylonian compounds with a divine name and an equally striking similarity to late Jewish, and, apparently, to late South Arabian compounds.

Of the seventeen compounds¹ with *el* peculiar to P, which I considered likely to be individually and separately of late origin in Hebrew, I have already discussed two—Tsurriel and Elitsūr—in the light of what Prof. Hommel has to say. The reason for regarding them as *artificial* is lessened, and so far the reason for regarding them as late. So far as the form goes, they might be of any period. Of the remaining fifteen, Prof. Hommel has little to say. Gaddiel, if correctly interpreted by him, "My grandfather is god" (cf. Arab. *ġadd* = grandfather) would almost certainly be early. Unfortunately, we need to be sure of the period in which it originated in order to estimate the relative probabilities of two equally possible interpretations of the first element—grandfather or fortune. If the name be early, Prof. Hommel is most probably right, and the name would form an interesting, though isolated, instance of another group of names compounded with a term of kinship.

Prof. Hommel holds that the Hebrews of the Mosaic period spoke Arabic, and that their names were Arabic.

¹ *Heb. Prop. Names*, p. 210 (where ^לאוריאל is a misprint for ^לצוריאל).

Does the list in Numbers i. on this hypothesis satisfy the conditions of antiquity? It certainly contains, as I had myself pointed out, names (Ochran, Enan) ending in *ân*, which is an Arabic termination. But in the same list we have Nahshon and Helon, with the corresponding Hebrew termination *-ôn*. Prof. Hommel accounts for this by the suggestion that, owing to the intercourse between Canaan and Egypt, some Canaanite forms would find currency among the Hebrews (p. 300 n. 2, 301). But are not the very forms with Shaddai purely Hebraic (or Canaanite), and non-Arabic? The Arabic form would begin with the simple, not the aspirated sibilant. Again, a name like Nethanel is not Arabic, since that language does not use *nathan* (=to give); the corresponding Arabic name is Wahaba-ilu (cf. Hommel, p. 84). Many of the names are indecisive, but the decisively Hebræo-Canaanite considerably outnumber the decisively Arabic forms. Once again, then, judged from this standpoint, the names are mixed, not homogeneous, in character.

In conclusion, I will briefly refer to two points having a more general and indirect connection with the subject of this article. On p. 299, in footnote 2, Prof. Hommel draws attention to a distinction made by Wellhausen between the antiquity of tribal names compounded with *el* and personal names of the same kind. The distinction is, I believe, valuable and valid. It is an inference, no doubt, but, as it appears to me, a well-founded inference, that the formation of tribal names compounded with *el* preceded the formation of similar personal names. Still, I made no use of this point in my discussion of P's names. On the contrary, I distinctly stated (herein differing from Wellhausen as cited by Hommel) that compounds with *el* of certain types were used as personal names in all periods of the history of Israel, and that the restriction of these to tribal names existed, if at all, prior to the earliest period of

Hebrew history. What I have maintained, however, is that a *particular formation* with *el*—that, namely, in which an imperfect precedes—was for long confined to tribal names, and only from about the 8th century began to be employed by the *Hebrews* for personal names. The data, which will be found on pp. 215ff. of my book, still appear to me to give to the inference great probability. At the same time, Prof. Hommel would probably challenge it. For formations of this kind occur early as personal names in South Arabia (Hommel, pp. 83, 112), and, as I had stated, in Babylonian contract tablets of about 2000 B.C. The right conclusion from all the data appears to be that a formation in early use among certain Semites only came into use among the Hebrews and certain other Semites at a relatively modern date. It is precisely one of the cases where we have to recognise difference and not similarity among related races. Let me only add that the critical use I have made of this inference is small. I have used it occasionally as a test of the antiquity of the names in 1 Chronicles i.–ix.; but in most cases it could be dispensed with. Thus the evidence against the antiquity of 1 Chronicles iv. 34–41 remains overwhelming without it. But the very fact that the names so frequently occur in sections and among names which on other grounds must be adjudged modern, lends additional strength to my view of the Hebrew usage. With regard to the significance of names of this type, I note with pleasure that Prof. Hommel inclines to take the same view as myself, and to attribute to the imperfect an optative sense.

From the fact that in the early South Arabian names a preference is shown for the use of *ilu*, or some other general term, to the almost total exclusion of proper names of deities, Prof. Hommel infers that the religion was “a very advanced type of monotheism, not unworthy to rank with the religion of Abraham as presented in the Biblical

narrative" (p. 88); and similarly, from the sparing reference to deities by their proper names in Assyrian compounds of the Khammurabi period, he infers that "these names express no sentiment which is inconsistent with the highest and purest monotheism" (p. 76). Prof. Hommel is here really putting forward a modification of Renan's theory¹ of the original monotheism of the Semites.

Prof. Hommel is probably right in inferring, as I think he does, that compounds with a generic term (subsequently at least applied to a deity or deities) were earlier than compounds with the proper name of a deity, but the fundamental objection to the inference he draws from the use of these generic terms is that it is based on a too isolated study of names, and a failure to distinguish between the significance of an actually generic term and a generic term which has in course of time become virtually specific. The post-exilic Jewish name Mehetabel (God does good) no doubt reflects monotheistic belief; but we can assume this only because we know *on other grounds* that the Jews of the period believed that only one *el* existed. Such a name occurring at another period or among another people who believed in the existence of more than one God would possess an entirely different significance. Now both in South Arabia and in Babylon we can, even from the names and still more from the general tenour of the inscriptions, see that more than one God was believed to exist. Under these circumstances we must believe that the generic term retains its full and original sense, and has not become virtually specific; that such a name, for instance, as *ilu-wahaba* means "the member of the class *el* (or God) whom I worship has given," and not "the one supreme being who alone constitutes the class *el* (or God) has

¹ See e.g. *Hist. Comparatif des Langues Sémitiques*, pp. 5 f., and later, with special reference to Semitic names, *Revue des Études Juives*, v. 161 ff.

given." In any case, Prof. Hommel draws an entirely unreal and unjustifiable distinction between the Arabian and Canaanite religions as illustrated by the proper names (p. 225). *Ba'al* and *Ādōn* are just as much generic terms as *ilu* or *abi* or the like, and we have just as much reason for inferring a virtual monotheism from the prevalence of *Ba'al* and *Adon* in the one set of names as from the use of *ilu*, *abi*, etc., in the other.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

THE PROBLEM OF PERSONAL SUFFERING.

WHEN Jesus' disciples were one day arrested by the sight of a blind man sitting in his pathetic helplessness at the door of God's Temple and asked the Master the meaning of his calamity, they touched a problem which is fresh in our day, and which has ever in it the blood of the human heart. Every city is studded with hospitals, where hundreds have begun to suffer or have been suffering long. No inconsiderable number of one's acquaintance have never known the joy of full health, but are daily contending against some secret weakness. In our own family there may be a member cut off from the activities of life, who the day long is wearying for night, and all night is watching for the dawn. What does this calamity mean? Surely it is not natural that men and women and little children should be blind, or maimed, or paralyzed, or in any way crippled. Rather, people ought to be strong and buoyant, able for all the labour and pleasures of life. Why should a certain proportion of the race be called forth to live in Gethsemane? This is a question on which, for his own or his brethren's sake, one longs for light.

Various answers can be given, and each one will satisfy some mind. It may be urged, for instance, that there is no problem, because a problem means a difficult principle which can be solved, but this matter of physical suffering is an accident. Until the delicate processes of nature and the complicated activity of human life perform their parts with unerring accuracy there will be failures and calamities. Nature is a huge and intricate machine, from which each person is thrown off like a piece of cloth from a loom. We watch the whirling wheels and flying shuttles with some understanding of the construction, but with no power of interference. A wheel drags ever so slightly, a thread

has a rough edge,—any slight flaw,—and a section of the web is damaged. So one of us begins life at a disadvantage, and this can only be avoided by a series of miracles going back, say, a century. Some day a signalman, being overworked or out of sorts, pulls the wrong handle and a train is wrecked, with physical consequences which may last for two generations. A child not yet born will be a cripple for life, but nothing could have saved that child save miraculous interference in that signal box. And God is not prodigal of miracles, even to avert catastrophes. His providence comes in later to utilize accidents for material ends ; His grace sanctifies them to spiritual issues. Really it is not wonderful, considering how fine and sensitive the eye is, that here and there a man is blind ; it is amazing that with this exception every person sees.

Or it may be pointed out with irresistible force that suffering can be traced, at a long interval in some cases, to sin, and that it is simply one of the wholesome sanctions of law. We are firmly convinced that we live in a moral universe, and by that we mean in a state where it will be made pleasant to do what is right and very unpleasant to do what is wrong, at least in physical affairs. If one play the fool and slap Nature in the face, that power will take up the quarrel and pursue it to the end with the man and his descendants till she has obtained complete satisfaction. If one make a covenant with Nature and keep her laws loyally, this power will remember him for good, and his children after him, opening her hand and blessing them with health and strength. With her saving judgments and her abundant mercies Nature fences up the way of life that we may be induced to walk therein with steadfast step. And if any one break through the hedge, it is good that he suffer ; and if it be that its actual transgressor do not pay all the debt, but that the innocent must share his liability, this is only the inevitable consequence of the soli-

darity of the family and the race. None can interfere between the sinner and his penalty, and we can even see that it is well none should, for in so far as one accepts his chastisement with a right mind the pain leaves peace behind.

One also recognises that suffering is a choice instrument for shaping character, and that without its touch the most delicate chasing on a vessel would be impossible. It is an actual pleasure to look at a perfectly healthy man, who sleeps without a dream and works without fatigue, whose blood is clean and whose vitality is inexhaustible. He is excellent company for other strong men,—a buoyant, optimistic, victorious nature,—but he has his limitations. It is not easy for the preacher of Christ's Evangel to reach this man, for he is entrenched in his fortunate experiences and good-humoured contentment. He is glad to know that there are promises for broken down people, but as things have gone well with him they make no impression on his soul. The next world will be remarkable if it excel this present state, which has been excellently arranged and entirely satisfactory. No doubt the soul is superior to the body; but at the same time he cannot forget that his body has served him perfectly. His unshaken and exuberant health leaves him invulnerable against every spiritual appeal. It is not to this Samson that the vision of the unseen comes, but to St. Paul with his perpetual tormenting thorn, to St. John cast as a dry seaweed on the shore by Patmos. When one wants to hear the secret things of God or to delight one's eyes with the finer shades of grace, he leaves the market-place and visits some one who wrestles daily with cruel pain and has come to know death as a familiar friend. Without the last touch of pain certain natures had never come to their perfect sweetness and autumn colour.

Nor can it be denied that without the stimulus of suffer-

ing the Race had never started on its upward career. When the early physical processes had done their work and man appeared as an animal with the soul inbreathed by God Himself, he was, morals apart, simply a savage,—naked, idle, ignorant, useless. As soon as he was cast forth from Eden, where he had been lapped round by ease, and set himself to work, he began to rise, and the compelling force was the prick of hunger. The fair house of human achievement contains now many treasures of letters and art, but its foundations were the hard and inevitable struggle for bread. First the rough hoe, and afterwards the lyre, the pen, and the brush. If a vagabond of the city is ever to be civilized, he must first of all learn to work, and the one certain persuasive is hunger. When this fiercest of all pangs seizes him, he will bestir himself, and so soon as he puts his foot on the lowest rung of the ladder, he has started on the right way, and either he or his children may reach the top some day. Pain is the spur which drives the Race along its ordered path of progress.

All these uses and benefits of pain are, however, open to two criticisms. Some of them are ethical but partial in their operations, as, for instance, invalidism, which purifies one person and hardens another; others are universal but not ethical, as, for instance, the action of hunger. One is therefore moved to seek about for some end of pain which will affect men generally and ethically, and in the search this incident comes under his notice. A congregation, made up of well-to-do and easy-going people, whom the preacher has sought to move to the pity and service of their fellow-creatures, as, he fears, in vain, is coming out of church. Just as they emerge a runaway horse knocks down and tramples upon a young child. She is only a child of the city—nameless, and not lovely, who has been in the park, and was trudging home with a few buttercups in her hand. Her misery and suffering are nothing to the

vast spiritual deprivations of the world which the preacher has laboured. It does not matter : in such circumstances people do not criticise nor calculate. A little maid has been hurt, and her calamity conquers the heart. Men are instantly shaken out of their composure and rush to her aid ; women forget their finery and wipe away the blood. A whole company are of a sudden delivered from their selfishness and inspired with human interest. Every sin—pride, vanity, hardness, envy—is suspended ; every virtue—love, sacrifice, gentleness, humility—is called into exercise. What could not be done by the eloquence of the preacher was accomplished by the suffering of the child. A crowd of ordinary people was suddenly raised to practical sainthood by a stroke.

The same effect is produced on a congregation on Hospital Sunday in an English city. Where the subject of sermon is dogma or exposition the chances are that the audience is more or less bored or divided ; if the plea be for missions, the hearers may have objections on principle or detail. Let the preacher put the case of suffering before their imagination, and a congregation is at once simply waiting and longing for the opportunity to give ; so that a deft orator, seeing his jury at fever-heat when he has not yet completed his argument, will close his speaking and take his verdict. People of every creed and no creed meet round the suffering and are nearer to one another and to goodness than at any other time in their lives. Jealousy and bigotry, the most unconquerable of sins, together with every other evil work, are vanquished and held for a time in subjection by compassion and sympathy.

Such conspicuous and undeniable incidents of daily life suggest that one at least of the ends of suffering is not the effect on the sufferer, but on the world ; that one at least of the methods of saving the world is the spectacle of suffering. We can also detect the principle which lies

beneath the means and gives their particular application. If sin be indeed the constant and unscrupulous preference of one's self before the interest of every human being and the consequence of this habitual selfishness an utter and hopeless hardness, then more than half the battle will be gained when the individual is shaken off his self centre and moved to the service of others. As soon as the lowest nature has forgotten its own desires and even for five minutes has lived for another, the grip of sin has been loosened and the work of religion has begun. And it were difficult to name any influence which so swiftly and effectually allures one out of self and so warms the blood with generous emotions as the appeal of Pain.

If Pain be indeed fulfilling this high purpose, it will be easy to accumulate instances, and the first can be found in our homes. It is a dark dispensation of Providence that a tender and gentle woman, a wife and mother, should be nailed, as it were, to a cross for ten years; but when you turn from this martyr to her household there is light. Her husband, quite a commonplace man once, has been redeemed from coarseness of soul, and has attained to the knowledge of deep mysteries of life; her sons have escaped the unconscious selfishness of youth, and have learned the habit of chivalrous service; her daughters have been deepened in character and have been lifted above a hundred petty foolishnesses by the sight of that martyrdom. Neighbouring households have not suffered, so they are counted fortunate; neither have they such delicate sensibility, such spiritual insight, such ingenuity of sacrifice, such an atmosphere of love, such a depth of peace. For the cross has been set up in this household, and they have lived under its life-giving shadow.

Among the various callings there is one which seems to confer a singular elevation and winsomeness of character. Its members have a firmer hold on the love of the people

than any other body of men, and they have won their just and enviable esteem by a habit of unparalleled self-sacrifice. No one serves his fellows at greater cost to himself, or with a more absolute disregard of himself, than a physician. If any one, indeed, has fulfilled the Sermon on the Mount, and exhibited the very spirit of Christ in action, it is this man. Yet how few have been his religious privileges, who is largely cut off from the Word and Sacrament, who labours while others worship, and is apt to be beset by various trials of faith? Is it not evident that he must enjoy some powerful compensation and some influence atone to him for what sanctifies others and he has lost? And is it not certain that this fine influence must be the contact with suffering from day to day, till under the necessary composure of his manner and his natural repudiation of sentiment his heart has been shaped to pity and his will to service? They who serve unceasingly before the altar of suffering receive their reward.

This beneficent end of suffering has its chief illustration in the "Man of Sorrows." It goes without proving, that no one has ever so affected our Race for weal as our Master, and that the spring of this salvation is in Himself. Partly it is His example of holy living, and partly it is His Gospel of Divine Truth, but a white marble Christ had not touched the human heart, nor loosed the bands of sin. It is the Crucified, in the unutterable pathos of His Passion and Death, who has overcome and gotten unto Himself the victory. Because it appears that God also is in the tragedy of life, and in the heart of its mystery. When one enters the dimness of a foreign cathedral, he sees nothing clearly for a while, save that there is a light from the Eastern window, and it is shining over a figure raised high above the choir. As one's eyes grow accustomed to the gloom, he identifies the Crucifix, repeated in every side Chapel, and marks that to this Sufferer all kneel in their trouble, and are comforted.

From age to age the shadow hangs heavy on life, and men walk softly in the holy place, but ever the Crucifix faces them, and they are drawn to His feet and goodness by the invitation of the pierced hands.

Had one lived in Jesus' day and realized His excellence, the Cross would have been an almost insuperable offence to faith. Why should He have had a crown of thorns? Had the veil been lifted from the future, and had one seen the salvation flowing from the five wounds of the Redeemer, then he had been comforted and content. No one then imagined that through the mystery of the Lord's Passion so great a blessing was to come on all ages, for none had entered into the secret of suffering. To-day we are perplexed by the Passion, not now concentrated like a bitter essence in the Cup of a Divine Person, but distributed in the earthly vessels of ordinary people, and stand aghast at the lot of the victims. Were our vision purged and power given us to detect spiritual effects, then we would understand, and cease to complain. We would see the hard crust of human nature broken up, and the fountains of fine emotion unsealed; the subtle sins which sap the vigour of character eliminated, and the unconscious virtues brought to bloom. Before the widespread, silent, searching appeal of the suffering, each in his appointed place, the heart of the Race grows tender, and opens its door to goodness.

This mission of Pain may well be a quick consolation unto them who are its victims. They mourn at times that they are refused a share of the labour of life, and are laid as a burden on their friends. It appears unto those saints in their patience that they are a reduction on the sum total of life and a daily drain on human kindness. They make too little of themselves: they do not understand that they are one of the potent forces of salvation. What no ordinary means of Grace has been able to do for members of their household and a circle beyond, they have wrought. From

beds of weariness as from a Cross they have done mighty works, and in weakness they have been more eloquent than the voices of preachers in a public place. To-day they are broken in body, so that friends have to lift the cup to their lips ; by-and-by they will slip the body of humiliation, and they will need strong arms in that day to carry their reward. They have gone forth weeping, and sowed their very life in the cold and windy springtime : they will return rejoicing, and they will be bowed down once more, but now beneath the golden burden of their sheaves. With their Lord they also have seen of the travail of their souls, and are satisfied. By His Grace and in their measure they have filled up that which was behind of the afflictions of Christ.

JOHN WATSON.

S. PAUL'S MIND AND METHOD.

IF I may be suffered to make some remarks on Prof. Ramsay's critique on my *Study of S. Paul*, I will confine myself to the fewest words on some of the points of detail which he considers erroneous, or where he holds that I have employed unsuitable expressions, and address myself particularly to those main features in which he differs from me.

In the first place he misunderstands me in supposing that I reject the historical method. I thought I had expressed myself plainly and made my purpose clear, which was not to deal at large with the epigraphy and archæology of Asia Minor, because I had not been there with pick to excavate, and heelball to take rubbings, and I did not care to use the labours of previous hard workers, repolished and set forth in fresh terms, that add nothing new. What I sought was rather to contribute towards the history of S. Paul my own ideas as to what I considered to be the quality of his mind, what I understood from the sacred text to have been his method, and what appeared to me to have caused the antagonism he provoked.

Prof. Ramsay finds fault with me for using the expression relative to certain effusive biographers in their treatment of the Apostle. "Unctuous expletives are poured on him, till the precious balms break his head." He says, "It is proverbial that hard words break no bones; why, then, should soft words break the head of him on whom they are cast?"

As an English clergyman familiar with the Psalter, which becomes to us a very part of one's thought, and colours one's expression, I was perhaps wrong in quoting Psalm cxli. 5, with the supposition that the words of the Psalmist would be as well known to others not brought up to its use.

He also finds fault with my expression, "The rise of the

veil of history," as awkward and inappropriate. But I employed that term purposely. We thought at one time that history began with the first written chronicles; that of a people was revealed by the historian much as a set scene bursts on us when the curtain rises in a theatre. But now we know better; there is no such thick curtain in history, the prehistoric age is seen as through one of those gauze veils employed on the stage to partially conceal a change of scene or of disposition. We can see through it in part, and guess at what is beyond, but discern nothing clearly.

Prof. Ramsay is offended at my saying that the elder Apostles may have hesitated to accept the assurances of a man whom they knew to be a weathercock in his religious opinions, who had not grown up in faith under the teaching of Christ. But was he not a weathercock? persecuting the Church one day, and zealous in its cause on the morrow? I should like to know whether any Bishop in England would at once appoint Cardinal Vaughan as his suffragan, if the latter came to him with the assurance that he no longer believed in Papalism, and had become a convert to the Anglican system. I suspect he would ask him to settle down into his new convictions and give proof of stability before committing to him a responsible office.

Another point criticised by the Professor is my illustration drawn from the American Protestant missionaries in Asia Minor, proselytising among the Armenians and other native Christians; he denies that they do this, and is severe in his strictures on me for not ascertaining the facts before employing the illustration. But Mr. H. C. Barkley in his *Ride through Asia Minor and Armenia*, 1891, as well as earlier travellers, say that they do, and Mr. Barkley gives a not very flattering picture of the converts.

I may be wrong in supposing that these missionaries would strive to convert a Mussulman, and represent themselves as desirous of so doing.

The Professor complains of my confusing Berea and Thessalonica in a passage where I speak of the Thessalonian Jews being irritated against Paul. "The result was that Paul and Silas were expelled from Berea." I hastened over this part of the history of the Apostle, as I had not much to say concerning it, but as a fact we are expressly told that when the "Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither also, and stirred up the people."

He further carps at a passage in which I speak of Paul and his father enjoying the rights of Roman citizenship, as implying that they acquired this by virtue of their residence in Tarsus. But I do not say this; I expressly say: "By what means the father of Paul acquired the right of Roman citizenship is not known. Such a right did not belong to the inhabitants of the town, and it must have been either purchased or granted as a reward for services rendered" (p. 47).

It is unfair of a reviewer to say, "Mr. Baring Gould does not consider that the facts and surroundings of Paul's life are of supreme importance." What I say is, that with reference to archæological and geographical detail I can add nothing, having no personal knowledge of the localities, and that I confine myself to a study of the inner life of the Apostle, the formation of his mind and opinions, and I refer to such incidents alone as illustrate this.

I do not write "in depreciation of historical study," but use such particulars only as explain the development of Paul's ideas, or went towards the formation of his character.

He is indignant at my suggestion that Paul was a bad workman. But I do not see why. He was often in dire want, and, as I state, his often infirmities, and his busy mind engaged in "the care of the Churches" would combine to make a poor handicraftsman.

He thinks it strange that I should speak of the immoralities in Paul's Churches as being a scandal. But surely Paul himself admits this, and that his converts gloried in their immorality. S. Jude agrees with this, and the Epistles to the Churches in the Apocalypse show us much the same (1 Cor. v. 1, 2; Eph. iv. 19; Jude 4, 8, 12-18; Rev. ii. 14, 20-22).

My reviewer is somewhat hasty in attributing to me opinions I do not hold. He misrepresents me as seemingly "more than half inclined to think Stephen and Paul were wrong in method, and that their action was a misfortune to Christianity." On the contrary, I think that Paul's method was a necessary supplement to that of the Twelve. But I do consider that sufficient weight has not been given to two points: 1. That the method adopted by the Twelve was one of very remarkable efficacy; they infused Christian doctrine into the very well-spring of Judaism, and from Jerusalem it was carried by those of the dispersion who came there, to the Jews scattered throughout the world. As a method of propagating Christianity it was unsurpassed for a time, but it was a method that could only be adopted for a time. 2. Next, I think it very likely that the Twelve had been commanded by Christ to offer to the Jewish nation the chance of being the great missionary evangelizing power of the world, and that it was only when this offer was finally rejected that the gospel was to be preached in another way and by others.

Prof. Ramsay finds fault with me because, he says, I lay the blame of Nero's persecution on S. Paul. I do not do this. What I have done is this. Prof. Ramsay has himself pointed out that S. Paul must have had a particular reason for appealing to Cæsar,—that the particular reason probably was to obtain the recognition of Christianity apart from Judaism as a licit religion in the empire, and that his release implies that he gained this point.

I have done no more than indicate the results. If, as Prof. Ramsay supposes, Paul was able to detach the believers in Rome from the synagogue and to organize them into a separate community,—then when, two years later, Nero desired to find some scapegoats on whom to lay the blame of the firing of Rome, he had the Christians ready to hand. But had this separation not been effected, then the believers would have remained as a party inextricably mingled with the Jews, and it would have been difficult for Nero to lay hold of them at once. All I state is a consequence rising out of the Professor's own theory. If Paul did shape his converts into separate Churches, then, obviously, they were easily get-at-able.

Prof. Ramsay says that I imply that "when you have seen one Jew you have seen all Jews; and the Jew whom he has seen is the Jew in whom the Talmud finds delight." But I do nowhere imply this. What I state is that the Pharisaic mind was not confined to Palestine, that there were rigorists and sticklers for the law in all Jewish communities, but that there was also a large body of lax Jews. Indeed we know that some were so lax as to be ashamed of their circumcision and to adopt methods of disguising it. Among these lax Jews there were doubtless some who saw that the kingdom of heaven was not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; but the great majority were lax for much the same reason that many Christians are lax, because a strict observance is inconvenient in business, in society, and interferes with pleasure. It was from this class—the best of it—that Paul gained his converts, as also from among the proselytes acquired by them.

And this leads to the fundamental point of difference between Prof. Ramsay and myself. He regards Paul as so thoroughly Græcised in mind and bearing that his Judaism merely tintured both. He points to his use of allusions

to the arena and the circus, and to his description of a Roman soldier's armour as evidence that he was so.

Of course the Apostle's mind was "stored with images taken from Græco-Roman life, called up without effort." It could not have been otherwise, but these "images" form the outer clothing of Paul's expression, and not the fibre of his mind. If I had lived the greater part of my life in France, I should be disposed to quote French customs, and use French terms of expression, perhaps even Parisian slang, but in grit and grain my mind would be English and English only, because formed in English schools and an English University. What I contend for is, that Paul was, as he himself states, brought up in a Pharisaic family; that he was, as he says he was, educated in a Rabbinical school at Jerusalem, at that period of life when the mind is plastic, and the opinions are taking direction.

That he used his eyes and ears when among Greeks and Romans I do not doubt; that he could talk of pieces of armour worn by a Roman soldier is no more evidence that he was steeped in Roman ideas than it would be evidence that I was of a Gallic frame of mind because I knew that French soldiers wore red trowsers.

A river in its course eats into the banks and carries away some of the soil, and that colours the stream. So the Severn in the Shropshire sandstone is red, and the Danube sweeping over the limestone rubble of the Bavarian plateau is milky. In like manner I think that Paul's mind took up a certain number of ideas from what surrounded him, but that the source of his thoughts and opinions was far away under the feet of Gamaliel.

From what we know of Paul's education there is a *prima facie* probability that this should actually represent the character of his mind. And when we look at his Epistles, we see that in argument he follows the hackneyed course marked out for him in the Rabbinic schools. Prof.

Ramsay says that some of the arguments put by Plato into the mouth of Socrates are inconclusive. That may be, but they are Greek in character, and not Hebraic. And the arguments employed by S. Paul are Hebraic and not Greek; as demonstrations they would be pointless, except to such as were trained in Jewish schools, or to proselytes steeped to the ears in Jewish ideas.

Not only so, but I venture to think that most of Paul's ideas were also borrowed from the same source.

There is one which we are often told to regard as especially his own, as his peculiar "Gospel," as one either directly revealed to him, or which he had worked out for himself: this is the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's merits (Rom. iv. 6-25).

A Jew was taught by the Rabbis that a man was accounted just before God only if he kept the whole Law. But as this was impossible, two means were provided for his justification: one was that he should do works of mercy, and so supplement his deficiencies, the other was that he should take refuge under the imputed righteousness of Abraham and the Fathers.

It was against this latter alternative that John the Baptist preached: "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance; and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father" (Matt. iii. 8, 9). It was in favour of the former that Christ pronounced (Matt. xxv. 34-46). But Paul repudiated the former, and adopted the second alternative, merely changing the *name* from Abraham to Jesus. The doctrine was conveyed by Paul bodily out of the Synagogue into the Church. All there was in it of originality was the substitution of a name.

And I believe that it was because Paul's mind was so intrinsically Jewish that he was powerless to address and convince Gentiles. Paul, as far as we can learn from the Acts, did not preach to Gentiles, unless forced to do so.

On the contrary, he invariably went to the synagogues, where he would be in an element in which he could argue and convince. It was there that he sought his converts. It is objected that I say so. But S. Luke says so, and says so over and over again, and when we look into S. Paul's Epistles for evidence that he had captured heathen directly out of heathenism, and had done more than carry off proselytes from the synagogue, we find none.

These are matters to be decided by evidence. Prof. Ramsay and other reviewers think it sufficient to state what I have said, but do not attempt to controvert it, because they assume that the traditional conception of Paul as a missionary among the heathen is stamped with infallibility.

But, to put the whole in a nutshell, I contend—

1. That Paul's mind was moulded by Rabbinism, and that it never altered its shape.

2. That though he may have wished and proposed to go to the Gentiles, he never did do so, because he found himself incapable of convincing them with his Rabbinic method of argument based on texts taken arbitrarily and twisted about to suit his purpose. To argue on texts, you must have an opponent who knows and accepts the texts.

3. That failing to reach the heathen, he devoted his energies to detaching from the synagogues the lax party among the Jews and the proselytes they had already gained.

4. That it was due to this proceeding, greatly affecting their interests, that he provoked so much irritation among the strict Jews, breaking out into riot against him.

I contend that the evidence in favour of this view is overwhelming, and that there is none to support the traditional conception of Paul as a preacher and Apostle to the Gentiles. Moreover, I think that to understand him we must go to the teachers who had shaped his mind, when it was plastic.

S. BARING-GOULD.

THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF GOD.

(REVELATION xxi. 25.)

"THE gates of it shall not be shut by day, for there shall be no night there"; it is the Magna Charta of Christian liberty. The city here spoken of is not a city in the air. The glory which it unfolds is the glory of the present world. The seer looks forward to a time when the life of the Christian on earth shall be a life of liberty. He says that all liberty is the result of nightlessness; that the reason why any gates are shut by day is just the fact that night is coming on, with its facilities for crime and its protection for the criminal. In other words, the absence of freedom springs in St. John's view from the absence of confidence. How easily can one verify this even in modern times. You go on the continent of Europe. You are asked for your passports. You are required to have your baggage examined. Your very newspapers are searched with suspicion. It is all very well for men in this tight little island to smile at such precautions. If our gates are open by day, it is because there is no night here, because the fear of the secret assassin is unfelt, because the dread of the lurking incendiary is unknown; we have parted from our bondage because we have parted from our night.

The connection here between increased liberty and increased light is a very remarkable one. The idea is that the Christian's desire for freedom is not the result of a wish to break through the original boundaries. It comes from the fact that the rising light reveals these boundaries to have been wider than he imagined. The thought may be thus illustrated: Man dwelt at first in a garden in the midst of a dark night. The only light he had was that of a small candle, which illuminated merely a few steps in advance. He was afraid to go beyond these steps. He

had been strictly commanded not to stray outside the limits of the garden. He did not know these limits. He thought them to be very narrow. He feared the gate might be only a few paces distant. Therefore, he refused to go beyond the range of his candle, lest inadvertently he should get outside the boundaries. Suddenly the sun rises, and with the new light there breaks upon him a wondrous revelation of the whole thing. He finds that, instead of being at the gate of the garden, the gate is miles away. He finds that he has been imposing on himself a useless barrier, that he has been circumscribing himself to no purpose. The gate is far away. Between it and him there are pastures of unspeakable pleasure, through which he can range at will. The tree of life is there; the tree of knowledge is there; the gold of Havilah is there; the four rivers of paradise are there. He has been shutting himself in by an imaginary gate, and not less effectually because it was imaginary. But the light has opened the gate, by revealing its delusion, by showing the wideness of the actual grounds, by disclosing to the eye the breadth of that travelling space which lies between its place of outlook and the limits of the garden.

Such is the allegory which, I think, floated before the sight of the seer of Patmos when he said, "The gates shall not be shut by day, for there shall be no night there." I greatly prefer this to the common interpretation, which makes the latter clause a parenthesis, "The gates shall not be shut by day. I need not speak of night, for there shall be no night there; if not shut by day, they shall never be shut." There is nothing wrong in the grammar of such a rendering. My objection is that it puts into a corner the most important piece of furniture in the room, treats as a subordinate clause the most striking part of the passage. The main feature of the city is the nightlessness. The liberty is but an effect. The gates of the New Jerusalem

are open because the hearts in the New Jerusalem are fearless. There is an absence of restriction because there is an absence of dread. It is not a breaking of old limits; it is not even an addition to old possessions; it is a recognition of the fact that the original estate was bigger than we deemed, and that the grounds of our first habitation gave more facilities than we had ever used.

There are four directions in which the Christianised earth has been increasingly opening its gates, and in every one of these directions the freedom has been the result of nightlessness. The first of these openings is the growth of that state of mind called charity. Its track has been indicated in modern times by a gradual widening of the field of toleration. Now, I am well aware that this has been attributed, not to the diminution, but to the increase of night. Mr. Leckie says that all toleration comes from the decline of faith. He must be confounding toleration with indifference. There is an indifference which comes from despair—from a sense that the game is not worth the candle. Toleration is always the fruit of hope. By its very etymology it implies the bearing of something. It is the sustaining of a burden in consideration of a brightness. All toleration which is not indifference comes, not from declining faith, but from declining fear. What is Christian charity? The common view is that it is the forgiveness we extend to our brother man through a persuasion of his weakness and a sense of the general impotence of human nature. That is a mistake. It would not be very far wrong to say that charity is just the reverse of this. It is the opposite of mercy. Mercy is the coming down to my brother on the ground of his helplessness; charity is the refusal to admit that there is yet *evidence* of my brother's helplessness. Mercy comes after the judgment has been delivered; charity is a plea for the suspension of judgment. Mercy results from a despair of the man's capabilities; charity

springs from a hope that his capabilities are not yet exhausted. Mercy is the product of the night ; charity is the child of real or imaginary vision—the belief that the day is at hand.

Now, the widening of our modern gates to the admission of Christian fellowship is the result, not of mere mercy, but of charity. It springs from hope, not despair. It is grounded on a larger and not a smaller view of the capacity of man. It is an act of speculation. It takes the risk of a man. It gives him the benefit of the doubt. It refuses to arrest him on suspicion. It insists on regarding him as true till he shall be proved to be false. Christian charity in its modern sense is the adoption of the principle of baptism—that a man is to be viewed from the very beginning as a member of the kingdom of God, that, ere ever he has a character, he is to have God's character imputed to him, that from his earliest infancy he is to be baptized into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. He is not to stand outside the gates of the kingdom until it is determined whether he is worthy to get in ; he is to remain within the kingdom until there shall be found some cause for putting him out, and the cause is not to be accepted on anything less than demonstrable evidence.

Such is the ideal conception of the kingdom of God as it appears in Christianity. It was involved in Christianity from the very beginning, but its recognition by the world has been slow. It is one of those gates which have only opened when they have been touched by the rosy finger of the morn ; the freedom has come from the fearlessness. The second of the openings may be described as that into the thoroughfare of worldly contact whether of books or of men. The latitude of worldly contact was originally supposed to be in proportion to a man's *distance* from the city of God ; in other words, it has been taken for granted that

the freedom of outside intercourse lies with those who *are* outside. It is the reverse. The freedom of going to find pasture in the outside is declared by our Lord Himself to belong to those who have entered within the door. There is undoubtedly a place for asceticism in the New Testament, but it is a place reserved for those who are either outside or on the threshold, "if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee." No man is asked to pluck out anything which is not to him a source of sin; and when he does pluck it out, the gain is not regarded as an unqualified one if it has involved a mutilation of human nature; he has entered into life "halt and maimed."

We may apply this to the principle of promiscuous reading. Is this world a free library? No; its tickets are issued only to those within the city of God. The opposite is the popular view—even the popular religious view. Frances Havergal in one of her letters complains that she has lost somewhat of the radiance which characterised her faith a year ago; she attributes it to the reading of Shakespeare. I have more than once been asked the question, "Ought I, a Christian, to read such a book as Renan's *Life of Jesus*?" The principle underlying the question is a curious one. It assumes that Renan's *Life of Jesus* must increase in its harmfulness in proportion as we penetrate within the precincts of the sacred temple. The opposite is the truth. The proper answer would be, "How far is your description of yourself a real one; what is the precise length and breadth of your Christianity?" It is safe to say that no man thoroughly saturated with the Christian ideal would experience the slightest danger from Renan's *Life of Jesus*. Its danger is to those who have either no ideal at all or a very defective one. The fascination of the writing is common property to all literary minds; but the danger is limited to minds which have not been impregnated with the New Testament portraiture.

And what is true of Renan is true of all works of fiction. It is the aim of every work of fiction, whether it be a novel with a purpose or not, to present an ideal to the mind. It is possible that this ideal may clash with Christianity; if so, it is a dangerous book. But it is dangerous to the non-Christian, or, at most, to the incipient Christian. I would forbid its reading, but I would forbid it to the uninitiated. I would forbid it to those outside the city, outside the light. The gates of the library are not shut where there is day. The man of the Christian ideal is allowed to study contrary ideals. Whether he can have any pleasure in such a study is another question. I am not here considering the subject of happiness; I am considering the charter of the city of God. And that charter is explicit in its terms. It declares that the citizen of the New Jerusalem is not even limited by the walls of his own environment. It declares that not only has he power to come out into worldly contact, but that, strictly speaking, he alone has that power. The charter of admission into the kingdom of earth is possession of the kingdom of heaven. Paul says, "he that is spiritual ruleth over all things"; a greater than Paul says, "seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all other things shall be added unto you." It is only another way of saying that the gates into secular life are the gates of the morning, that the man who dwells on the mountains has alone the right to explore the plain, and that the passport into the present world is assigned to those who have tasted the powers of the world to come.

The third of the great openings which mark the freedom of the city of God is its power to assimilate opinions which at one time were deemed adverse and irreconcilable. As a type and specimen of this, I shall take Darwinism. Mr. Darwin has latterly obtained a place in the New Jerusalem—has been recognised as a possible member of the kingdom of God. I do not mean that every member of the Christian

Church has recognised the truth of Darwinism. Personally, I do not. I have not the gift of faith sufficient to enable me to adopt the miracles involved in such a mode of evolution. It would require a greater amount of trust in the possibilities of nature than lies at my command. But while perhaps the majority of the Christian Church share this sentiment, there is no man who would now exclude a Darwinian, as such, from the table of communion. The question is, why? Is it because our confidence in the Christian creed has been shaken? Is it because a gloom has fallen over our vision of former days? Is it, in short, because the night has taught us *despair* that we have opened our gates to a previous foe? If so, this spectacle of modern toleration is one of the most repulsive and one of the most unhealthy which can be presented to the mind of man.

But a moment's reflection will convince us that the change of front on the part of Christianity is the result, not of a diminished, but of an increased sense of God. We have arrived at the conclusion that, if the theory of Darwin errs, it errs not by excess but by defect. On the question of the identity of species the theologian believes not less, but more, than Mr. Darwin. Darwin claims an identity of origin for the animal and the man. The theologian has come to recognise that his own science cannot stop there, that he must claim an identity of origin for everything that exists. Darwin seeks the unity of *life*; the theologian seeks the unity of all things. He is rather Spencerian than Darwinian. Like Spencer, he would find a common origin both for the living and the unliving. Like Spencer, he would place that origin in an act of primal Force; only, it is not the force of an unknowable agent, but the force of a conscious Will, "the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters." That is the Christian doctrine of the unity of species. The Spirit moved, and from its movement all

things, however diverse, came—the light, the firmament, the earth, the plant, the animal, the man. All are manifestations of force, one force—the movement of the Divine Spirit. There is nothing in the present universe which was not implicitly included in that impact of the Spirit. All forces slept in it; all types rested in it; all forms were prefigured in it. It has been the common parent alike of the organic and the inorganic. It has constituted the brotherhood of all things. It has linked in one chain the whole family of heaven and earth, and formed the one species from which everything in nature has descended.

I am not here discussing the scientific question. I am inquiring why it is that the gates of Christian fellowship have been opened to the Darwinian. I say that the cause of the toleration is not an increase of uncertainty, but an increase of confidence, that the gates have ceased to be shut simply from the fact that there has ceased to be night in the city. I may demur to believe that the man has come out of the ape or from any intermediate link *between* the man and the ape. Nevertheless, in my doctrine of God and His Spirit, the community of origin is already conceded, and a principle, not less but more drastic than Mr. Darwin's, binds together, not only them, but every other fragment of creation.

The last of the four openings of the city of God into secular life is that which peculiarly distinguishes Christianity from Judaism. It may be called the æsthetic gate—the amalgamation of religion with beauty. To the ancient Jew there was an antagonism between religion and art. Judea was the opposite of Greece. The Greek could adore nothing that was not beautiful; the Jew was suspicious of everything that was. He was greatly afraid of art galleries, of sculpture, of images, of anything that would suggest devotion to the creature. Religion was to him naturally associated with severity, and whatever broke the

severity seemed to detract from the religion. Hence arose his extreme sabbatarianism. The day of rest could easily have been turned into a day of pleasure; it became necessary to circumscribe it more than all the other six. It would be a deplorable thing, he thought, if the hours of leisure should be the means of introducing into worship a love of those secular objects which the heathen idolised. And so the Jew limited the length of the Sunday road, and forbade the plucking of the ears of corn. He felt that, if the day of rest were to be a day of religion, it was necessary that the rest itself should be made monotonous, disagreeable, a thing to make restive. The only way to prevent it from becoming a luxury was to make it the child's penalty of being compelled to sit still.

Now, in Christianity, all this is changed, and was changed from a very early date. Christianity has linked itself with the idea of beauty; it has blended the Greek and the Jew. It has found a new significance for the day of rest; it has opened the cornfields to the steps of the Son of Man. It has unbarred the gates of art. In the true spirit of its central doctrine, it has incarnated its truths in human forms. It has allowed Angelo to paint "The Last Judgment," and Raphael to depict the "Child-Christ," and Dürer to portray the "Man of Sorrows." The gates of the temple called Beautiful had been to the Jew only opened on the chain, and men had approached it with lame feet; Christianity broke the chain, and bade the worshipper enter in.

Now, whence this relaxation of the bond? It will be answered, "because the Christian is more secular than the Jew." Paradoxical as it may sound, I say it is the reverse; it is because the Christian is less secular than the Jew, because he sees a wider field for God. Why have we opened those galleries of artistic imagery of which the Israelite was so afraid? It is not because we wish to give

more emphasis to the secular. It is because we deny that art *is* secular. It is not an increasing reverence for the *creature* that has prompted the opening of our art galleries. It is the recognition of the fact that the genius of the painter is not a creature, but itself a manifestation of the Divine. We feel convinced that the artist who believes himself to have a purely secular profession has already fallen; it is because we have restricted the range of the secular that we have opened that gate Beautiful which the Jew insisted on being kept closed. Or, why is it that we have relaxed the rigidity of the Jewish Sabbath? Why do we no longer forbid the disciple to pass an hour of enjoyment in the cornfields? Is it the increased reverence for the creature? No; it is the *diminished* reverence for him. It is because the creature has been made subject to vanity in the presence of the Creator. It is because God Himself has put on the robes of the cornfield. It is because bird, and flower, and tree have ceased to be viewed as mere secular manifestations. It is because the so-called hour of pleasure is recognised to be the pleasure of a service, the joy of a worship, the rapture of a prayer. Therefore it is that we have opened the gates of the Sabbath. Not in the interest of a secular system have we unbarred these gates. Not in obedience to an impulse which would banish God from His universe have we opened these doors. Our freedom has come from our extended view of the empire of our Father; our enlargement has sprung from our enlarged sense of God; the gates of the city have been opened because there is no night there.

GEORGE MATHESON.

"IN THE BLOOD OF THE LAMB."

(REVELATION vii. 14.)

"THEY have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." The words are familiar enough, but is the thought clear? The idea it is most likely to suggest to the ordinary English mind is most unnatural and repulsive. This is a chief reason why such passages are so seldom dealt with at all, and, when dealt with, so often slurred over, as when one of the first preachers of the day thus expounds it: "The blood signifies the suffering of mortal human life; and the whole declaration is, that this glorious fellowship of noble sufferers, the radiant brotherhood of triumphant saints, were exalted to their heavenly glory and perfectness through the natural and earthly steps of sanctified suffering." Not a syllable about "the blood of the Lamb." Surely that is not dealing honestly with the sacred Scriptures.

The true way of dealing with a passage of this kind is to put ourselves in the place of the writer and of his readers, to find if possible what was in his mind when he wrote, and what would be in theirs when they read. This may require patience, but surely the matter is of importance enough to demand it.

First then, what thoughts would be suggested by the reference to "the Lamb"? It would take them back, no doubt, to the paschal lamb, but would probably be still more closely associated with the daily offering; for every morning at sunrise it was the duty of the officiating priest to offer a lamb for the sin of the people. Day by day from time immemorial a lamb had been offered in sacrifice; and the remembrance of this would put full meaning into the familiar designation of Christ as *the* Lamb, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world."

Next let us look closely at the expression "the blood of the Lamb." What did that mean to John and his readers? Literal blood? Nothing of the kind. Listen to what they had been taught from their earliest infancy—it would be as familiar to every one of them as "The Lord is my Shepherd" to a well brought up Christian child: here then was what they had been taught: "The life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls." It is most important to remember this, for it is the very opposite of what we are accustomed to think. We associate blood with death; they were distinctly taught to associate it with life. "The life is in the blood."

The blood of the Lamb then meant the life of the Lamb. Perhaps the question might be asked, Why not say life, when life is meant? The answer is that the life disappears when the Lamb dies, and, as we shall see, it was necessary to the completing of the simile that the life of the lamb should be presented to God after it had been slain. How could this be done? Evidently not by means of the dead body; it could only be by the blood, which, after the death of the animal, still stood for its life. When then the blood of the lamb was shed, it meant the giving up of life, and when the blood which had been shed was caught up and put upon the altar, it meant that the life which, had passed through death and emerged out of it was presented to God. Every time the priest offered the lamb, it was as if he said: "I, in the name of the people of Israel, whom as their priest I represent, surrender the life of this lamb as a token that they surrender the life which they live in the flesh, giving it up to death, and I take up the blood which has been shed and put it upon the altar as a token that they will take up their life again as a new life, and dedicate it wholly unto God." It meant, in short, dying unto sin and living again unto God. What a noble ritual! By the daily offering of

the lamb the devout Israelite was taught every morning at sunrise to die to sin and live unto righteousness. Is not every night a death and every morning a resurrection?

"Oh, timely happy, timely wise
Hearts that with rising morn arise!
Eyes that the beam celestial view
Which evermore makes all things new!"

This, remember, was done every day; but once a year the same thing was enacted with peculiar solemnity and impressiveness, for on this day, known as the Great Atonement Day, the blood which had been shed was carried through the Holy Place into the Holiest of all, and there, reverently, on the Mercy Seat, or "Propitiatory," as it is called in the New Testament, presented to God. The same idea, only more solemnly expressed: "I, priest of Israel, in Israel's name, surrender the life they are living in the flesh that it may be taken up again and consecrated unto God."

That was called "making an atonement for their souls." But clearly the transaction was only symbolic. It could not have validity in itself. It was not possible for the blood of bulls or goats or lambs to take away sin. The value of the ceremonial depended on the impressive picture it gave of the great atonement which it prefigured. And accordingly, when the fulness of the time had come, in room of the official priest of Israel appears the real Priest of Humanity, and the offering He brings is no symbolic offering, but the offering of Himself, so He is not only Priest but Lamb, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." The blood He shed was His own, and in doing so He gave His life an offering for sin; and it was His own blood He took into the Holy Place; that is, He took His life after it had passed through death and emerged from it, and carried it into the presence of God.

This He did, like the priest, as the representative of His people. The lamb which was offered daily could only be

representative in symbol, but the Lamb of God is a real Representative ; for He is truly Man, is, in fact, *the* Representative of humanity, for He is "the Son of man," the Ideal of humanity. His life was spotless and pure ; but, associated as He was with the weakness of flesh, identified as He chose to be with the race as a whole, He accepted on its behalf the condemnation of sin in submitting to death. But that was only half of the work, and it is important, for many reasons, not to leave out the other half, as is often done, from the Atonement. Remember what Himself said on the subject, "I lay down My life, that I may take it again. No man taketh it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of My Father." The laying down of His life, then, was only part of the Atonement ; the other part was the taking it again, to be united with the life of God for evermore.

Now, we are prepared for seeing clearly and fully what would be in the mind of John and of his readers in the expression, "the blood of the Lamb." It would mean the life of Christ as a life in the flesh surrendered on the cross on behalf of humanity, and so taken up again in the resurrection as a life in the Spirit. It only remains to see what was meant by the preposition : "*in* the blood of the Lamb."

Picture again the devout Israelite at sunrise, with his face turned to the temple and his heart lifted up to God as the morning ritual was performed, the blood shed, and then caught up and put upon the altar. What would be his morning meditation ? Would it not be something like this : "I am in that blood of the Lamb, for it represents the life of Israel, and I am one of Israel ; I accept what the priest is doing as done on my behalf ; I make it my act ; it is I who give up my life in the flesh, so full of imperfection and sin ; I lay it down and put it away, and accept the new

life which is caught up by God's representative, and offered on His altar. I am dead to my old selfishness and sin, and alive unto God through this holy offering which has been made on my behalf"? In the same way the Christian, looking to the Lamb of God as his Representative, says, "It is for me He has surrendered His life; it is for my sins He has become obedient unto death; it is for me that, having laid the old life down, He takes the new one up; it is in my name that He returns to the bosom of God. I am in that blood which is first poured out in death, and then caught up and carried into the presence of God; my life is wrapped in that life of His; I believe in Him; I associate myself with Him; I unite myself to Him; I die in His death; I make a complete surrender of my old life of fleshly weakness, and gladly take it up again in the power of the Spirit which He sheds forth upon me; I give myself to Him; I lay my life upon the altar; I gladly enter into the secret place of the Most High, to abide under the shadow of the Almighty, a new man, born again to newness of life. 'I have washed my robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.'"

Now I ask of any who have been good enough to follow this exposition, whether there is anything repulsive or horrible in the words when we understand them as John intended, and as his readers would be sure to understand them. For we must remember that no exposition would be needed to them; the whole circle of ideas was as familiar as our daily family worship is, or ought to be, to us.

And this view of the force of the preposition is in harmony with its use in the same connection in other parts of the New Testament. We admit that there is a temptation here to connect the preposition *in*, not as we have suggested, with the people, but with the act of washing. But it is at once corrected when we find that the same phrase is used when the verb is quite different. The remark

applies even to this book of Revelation. In Revelation v. 9 the Lamb is addressed in these words, "Thou wast slain, and hast *redeemed* us to God *in* Thy blood." Our versions, both Authorized and Revised, vary the preposition, but it is the same in the Greek. So, too, in Revelation i. 5 the approved reading is, "Unto Him that loved us, and *loosed* us from our sins *in* His blood"—again the same preposition, though R.V. translates "by." The same expression is familiar in the writings of St. Paul, who seems to use it as parallel with his oft-repeated "in Christ." "In Christ," "in Him," "in the Lord," such are the expressions he uses when he speaks in general of the union of the believer with Christ; but when he wishes to confine attention to the Atonement, as distinguished from the work of Christ in its large sense, he uses the expression, "in His blood." As illustrations of this we may point to such great passages as Romans v. 9, "Much more then, being now justified in His blood, shall we be saved from the wrath of God through Him"; or Ephesians ii. 13, "But now in Christ Jesus ye that once were afar off are made nigh in the blood of Christ." When the passages are examined, not in the translations, where the preposition is so frequently changed, but in the original, it seems not too much to say that the entire *usus loquendi* is in favour of the interpretation which we have ventured to give in this paper.

It should, of course, be understood that this is simply an expository paper. It makes no attempt fully to deal with the large and difficult subject of the Atonement; but it has seemed to the writer of it worth while to show that an expression so characteristic of Biblical phraseology is not properly interpreted by those who represent it as unnatural and repulsive.

J. MONRO GIBSON.

*THE SO-CALLED LOGIA AND THEIR RELATION
TO THE CANONICAL SCRIPTURES.*

THERE will be, no doubt, many learned papers written on the extraordinary discovery of what, at any rate, purport to be the very words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. My primary object in writing this short article is to gather together a few thoughts that have occurred to me as to their connection with the Canonical Scriptures, adding, perhaps, just one or two remarks on other subjects.

Let me remark by way of beginning that, although the editors divide the contents of their papyrus into eight Logia, it is just possible there may be only four and a half made up as follows: I., II., III.-V., VI., VII.-VIII. This is a mere matter of detail, the authority for reading λέγει Ἰησοῦς at the commencement of V., being only the two letters ει in the middle of a lacuna. As for the expression λέγει Ἰησοῦς, it is noticeable that it occurs absolutely only in the fourth Gospel (λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, 11. 39, a few MSS. omitting ὁ; λέγει Ἰ., 13. 31, where some MSS. insert ὁ; Ἰησοῦς...λέγει, 19. 28). On the first of these passages we shall have something more to say later on. The expression λέγει αὐτοῖς (or, αὐτῷ, αὐτῇ) Ἰ. also seems to be much more common in the fourth Gospel than in any of the others.

We will now proceed to the examination of each λόγιον separately, adopting the enumeration of the editors.

I. It does not seem to me quite clear after all that these words can be referred with absolute certainty to Luke 6. 42. The position of ἐκβαλεῖν corresponds to its position in Matthew 7. 5; in Luke 6. 42 that position is doubtful. At the same time the last words certainly follow Luke 6., where in some MSS. the reading has been assimilated to

Matthew.¹ I was inclined to think at first that there was intended to be a break after ἀδελφοῦ, and that σου was not read in the MS., but what looks like a stop seems to be only a flaw in the papyrus.

II. We may call this, I think, the greatest crux of the whole document. But the key to the passage may perhaps be found in Isaiah 58., where the fast and the sabbath and their observance are both treated spiritually. It also gives us a clue towards the true reading of the text. If we can imagine that the scribe has accidentally omitted εἰς after νηστεύσητε (in cod. -αι), as he very well might, then ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε εἰς τὸν κόσμον has its parallel in construction, and its opposite in meaning in Isaiah 58. 4 (LXX.), εἰ εἰς κρίσεις καὶ μάχας νηστεύετε. The fast of Isaiah 58. 4 involved a seeking for God and His ways (58. 2), but no finding: the fast of the Logion secures a finding of the kingdom. The seeking to find is taught in Matthew 6. 33, the finding after seeking is promised Matthew 7. 7. This is also the Johannine teaching (1 S. John 2. 15-17, μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε τὸν κόσμον...).

Origen, commenting upon this last passage (I. 300), speaks of those who overcome the world as living "by the heavenly altar" (παρὰ τῷ ἐν οὐρανοῖς θυσιαστηρίῳ).

If we accept the connection of this Logion with Isaiah 58., then the second half of the saying seems to be not so difficult by any means as the first. Our Lord never condemned a right keeping of the Sabbath throughout His life, so far as we know. He kept the Jewish fasts and festivals. What He did condemn was the unspiritualized keeping of them, which is what Isaiah 58. also condemns (see vv. 13, 14). The seeing the Father, then, corresponds to the words of the prophet: "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord." That "to see the Father" was something

¹ I have not quoted the authorities on either side, as they are easily to be seen in Tischendorf, and are not necessary for my immediate purpose.

which the earliest Christians desired, is shown by the words (John 14. 8), "Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us. . . . He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father."

III. This Logion I think looks back to John 7. 37, "In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink." If we want to find a connection between it and the preceding Logion, we may perhaps find it in John 7. 28, 29. The expression *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου*, when we remember that the saying of John 7. 37 was uttered in the Temple, may refer to the Jewish belief that Jerusalem and especially its temple was the "umbilicus" of the world (cf. Ezek. 5. 5). Hippolytus (*c. Hær. Noët.*, c. 17) makes a statement practically identical with that of the Logion:—*οὗτος προσελθὼν εἰς κόσμον Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη*.

What does the rest of the Logion mean? We may refer back again partly for our elucidation to Isaiah 55. so close to Isaiah 58. already quoted:—"Ho every one that thirsteth . . .," and partly to the fourth beatitude:—"Blessed are they that . . . thirst after righteousness." *μεθύοντας* admits of two renderings: (1) drunk, and then it would refer to the overwhelming pride of the Pharisees, or (2) drinking freely, *i.e.*, of the knowledge that was ready to their hand. The thirsting should have been for something else (cf. Jer. 31. LXX. 38. 25, *ὅτι ἐμέθυσα πᾶσαν ψυχὴν διψῶσαν*). The trouble of the soul of Jesus though the word *πονέει* does not occur is again Johannine, see 12. 27, 13. 21. I cannot find that the expression "the sons of men" ever occurs in the New Testament. It may be to let "the Son of man" stand out alone with none other having any title like Him. As for the "blind in heart" I should say that we must once more look to the fourth Gospel, John 9. 41, "Ye say, we see; therefore your sin remaineth." Is it just possible that after *αὐτῶν* the fragment went on *καὶ ἡ ἀμαρτία αὐτῶν μένει*? I am afraid not.

The collotype gives no help for this, and I have not seen the papyrus.

IV. There is nothing to go upon here. One is tempted to wish that the word *πτωχείαν* might connect itself with Lam. 3. 1 (LXX.), *ἐγὼ ἀνὴρ ὁ βλέπων πτωχείαν*.

V. Prof. Harnack¹ seems to have correctly identified the source of the latter part of this Logion with Ecclesiastes 10. 9 (LXX.), *ἐξαίρων λίθους δαπανηθήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς, σχίζων ξύλα κινδυνεύσει ἐν αὐτοῖς*. This would imply that the power of Christ is present to those who labour in their daily toil even if it be dangerous. Before Harnack's pamphlet appeared I had been inclined to think that the words referred to the resurrection and crucifixion, including also in them a secondary reference to the raising of Lazarus (John 11. 39, *λέγει [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς Ἄρατε τὸν λίθον*), and the offering of Isaac (Gen. 22. 3, *σχίσας ξύλα*), in both of which narratives there is a Theophany recorded; but I do not feel at all sure about it now. I would compare, however, the quotation from 2 Esdras 5. 5, and its interpretation as referring to the cross in *Ep. Barn.* 12, *ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα στάξῃ*. As to the first half of the passage I would venture to suggest that it stood: *λέγει Ἰησοῦς ὅπου ἐὰν ᾧσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι θεοὶ καὶ ὅπου εἰς ἐστὶν μόνος, λέγω, Ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ*.² For the *οἱ λεγόμενοι θεοὶ* I would refer to 1 Corinthians 8. 5, and for the general run of the sentence we must again resort to the fourth Gospel, John 10. 34, 35. It is noticeable that in commenting upon 1 Corinthians 8. 5, Origen (I. 746) says: *οἶδε δὲ ὁ Λόγος θεοὺς τοὺς μὲν τινὰς λεγομένους*.

VI. The first half of this Logion, by its use of the word *δεκτός*, goes back to Luke 4. 24, rather than to Matthew 13.

¹ Nearly the whole of this article was written before Prof. Harnack's *Über die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu* reached England.

² There is a nice distinction drawn here by the two constructions following the word *ὅπου*.

57; Mark 6. 4; John 4. 44. The second half also refers to Luke 4. 23. The "knowing" of Christ by others is a Johannine expression (7. 28, 8. 19; though the word is *οἶδα*).

VII. This is a combination of Matthew 5. 14 with a recollection of the phrasing of Matthew 7. 24, 25.

What are the results to be gathered from this investigation? Two results might at first sight seem probable.

(1) The Johannine phraseology would account perhaps for the appearance of the Logia in Egypt if we consider that that Gospel is a Christianizing of the philosophy of Philo.

(2) The Logia might be imagined to have a genuine original behind them, and to have come to us with Gnostic accretions and alterations.

But I am bold enough to think that we must look elsewhere for their origin, and that we can discover a source for them which will account for most of the difficulties which surround them. I believe we have in them a fragment of perhaps some apocryphal gospel¹ claiming to give a sort of *procès verbal* of the indictment or evidence used at the trial of Christ before the Jewish authorities, in much the same way as the trials of the early Christians before the heathen tribunals were officially recorded. The Jewish authorities would want some justification, which might be recorded, for handing over our Lord for judgment to the representative of Cæsar. We know that the evidence was got up. "They watched Him, and sent forth spies, which feigned themselves to be righteous, that they might take hold of His speech, so as to deliver Him to the rule and to the authority of the governor" (Luke 20. 20). We know

¹ What apocryphal Gospel I will not venture to decide. The Gospel of Peter at any rate was known not so many miles away from the place where this fragment was discovered.

that the evidence given was not of one, but of many (Matt. 26. 59, 60; Mark 14. 55-59), and that it had reference to words, not to acts. We know that the last witnesses called at the trial misrepresented what our Lord had said, but did not actually invent charges against Him.¹ This fragment might then be taken to represent some of the previous evidence. We have seen how in every case there seems to be some reason for considering that it has reference to some utterances in the four canonical Gospels. It only remains to ask, Were these so-called Logia suited for this purpose? Very much so, I think. Logion 1, if the former part was quoted as accurately as the latter—it may have been misquoted—in its entirety must have irritated any self-righteous Pharisee when it came to his ears. Logion 2 was, it seems to me, introduced because of its use of the expression “the Father.” I know of no passage in the Old Testament where it is used of God the Father in the way in which our Lord used it. Isaiah 9. 6 is the only one that approaches to it. We know how our Lord’s use of the term “My Father” irritated the Jews (*i.e.*, the Jewish authorities), so that they sought the more to kill Him. I am bound, however, to confess that this is the weakest link in my chain of argument from the passages. Or, it may be that it is the spiritualising of the Sabbath that was attacked in this passage, for of course the Jews would object to that. We must then translate: If you do not make a true Sabbath of the Sabbath. The noun *σαββατισμός* is used of a spiritual Sabbath (Heb. 4. 9). If Logion 3 misrepresents John 7. 37, then we are told that after He had said the words there recorded “some of them would have taken Him.” And if its last

¹ The use of the present tense in the formula *Ἰησοῦς λέγει* might perhaps be said to weigh against this view, as if *ἔλεγε* was the only possible form in such a case; but whatever view be taken of these fragments, *Ἰ. λέγει* must be taken as equivalent to “This is a saying of Jesus,” and in my view these were taken and testified to as specimen sayings of Jesus.

words refer to John 9. 41, then they were an answer to an objecting question of the Pharisees. Of Logion 4. we can say nothing. If I am right in my restoration of the first half of Logion 5, our Lord's words were an answer to a violent attack upon Him for blasphemy; and if Harnack is right about the second half, the scribes would be ready to attack Him for having misquoted their canonical Scriptures to suit His own purposes. The words about the prophet and the physician in Logion 6 go back to the discourse in the synagogue at Nazareth, at the end of which very violent measures were taken against our Lord. And, in conclusion, what would be likely to irritate the Pharisaic pride more than to be told that our Lord had compared His disciples—*filii glebæ* as they most of them were, and one a publican, and all, or nearly all, of them despised Galilæans—to a city so built on a high mountain, and so firmly settled, that it could not fall or be hid? If the question is asked why they were not recorded in any of the canonical Gospels, I answer, Because they were fruitless in result, and would serve no object by being inserted; no two witnesses could agree as to what had been really said.

HENRY A. REDPATH.

ARE THE TWO EPISTLES IN 2 CORINTHIANS?

THE document which is described in our Bibles as the "Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians" has always been regarded by commentators as an especially difficult one; and among its difficulties none has been felt more strongly than the striking difference between the relation of the Apostle to the Corinthian Church revealed to us in the first nine chapters, in which he almost exhausts the resources of language in describing the fulness of his joy at their reconciliation to himself after a temporary estrangement, and the relation which appears to be revealed to us in the four concluding chapters, in which the estrangement appears to be present and not past.

More than a century ago Semler suggested that these portions did not originally belong to the same epistle. He seemed to regard the contrast between them as sufficient evidence for his theory, and did not seek for further proof; and he complicated the theory by advocating further alterations of the text, some of which he afterwards abandoned or modified. In fact he divided 2 Corinthians into three epistles: (1) 2 Corinthians i.-viii., to which he added Romans xvi. and 2 Corinthians xiii. 11 to end; (2) 2 Corinthians x. 1 to xiii. 11; (3) 2 Corinthians ix. Meyer, in his reply to this theory, endorsed the statement of Hug, that we might as well divide the *περὶ σεφάνου* of Demosthenes into two orations because the first part is calm and the second part vehement. Semler's theory did not for a long time gain much acceptance even in Germany, and in England it was completely ignored; so much was this the case that Dean Alford in his *Introduction to 2 Corinthians* acknowledged that he derived his information about the theory from Meyer's reply to it. In process of time, however, fresh advocates appeared in Germany; and in the

year 1870 Professor Hausrath, of the University of Heidelberg, published a pamphlet, entitled *Der Vier-Capitel-Brief des Paulus an die Corinthier*, in which he advocated the division of 2 Corinthians into two separate epistles; the division being made at the end of the ninth chapter. Hausrath went into more detailed proof of his theory than Semler had done; he particularised four points of difference which had arisen between St. Paul and the Corinthian Church: (1) The case of the incestuous person; (2) Suspicions about the collection for Jerusalem; (3) The announcement of St. Paul's approaching visit to Corinth and the subsequent postponement of the visit; (4) The controversy with the Judaising party there. Taking these points one by one, he claimed that he could show that chapters x.-xiii. of 2 Corinthians represent an earlier stage of the controversy than chapters x.-xiii. The treatise is marked by acuteness and ability, but in discussing each of the four heads Professor Hausrath frames hypotheses about the position of things at Corinth, and the accusations brought against the Apostle, which do not appear to me to be capable of being sufficiently established to be made in their turn the foundations of an important theory; and by far the most telling part of the reply which was made by Professor Klöpper to the pamphlet is, in my opinion, his examination of some of these hypotheses.

Since 1870 the question has become to some extent an open one in Germany, but in England it has as yet received very slight notice; commentators, when they do not ignore it altogether, generally confining themselves to a passing reference to Klöpper's refutation of Hausrath's treatise.

A sentence in a short introduction to an unfinished Commentary by Bishop Lightfoot, which has been published since his death, seems to me to suggest that that great scholar regarded the matter as one which should not be quite so summarily disposed of, for he classes both

Hausrath's and Klöpper's treatises among works which will well repay examination, while at the same time he refrains from expressing any opinion on the theory or even stating it. This reserved attitude, taken in connection with his respectful mention of both the opponents, makes it probable that he suspended his judgment on the matter, and that had time and strength been spared to him he would have further investigated a subject which his words implied to be one that would repay investigation.

It was not by any of these writers that my own attention was first called to the question, but by a remark which was made in my hearing by the late Dr. Reichel, Bishop of Meath, to the effect that he was convinced that there were two epistles in 2 Corinthians, and that the last written stands before the earlier. Though I had a very high respect for his acuteness of mind and profound scholarship, I was at first strongly prejudiced against what appeared to me to be a mutilation of the Epistle; but as from time to time I closely examined the text, proofs of various kinds appeared to multiply, all converging to the same conclusion—that the epistle referred to in 2 Corinthians ii. 4 as written *ἐκ πολλῆς θλίψεως καὶ συνοχῆς καρδίας* was not our 1 Corinthians but an epistle whose closing portion we possess in chapters x.—xiii. of 2 Corinthians.

It occurred to me that if these were two separate epistles, written by the same writer, with only a short interval between them, and referring to the same circumstances seen from such very different standpoints, it was not improbable that there might be some passages in which the epistle which was written later might refer back either to the very phraseology of passages in the earlier epistle, or to the acts or purposes spoken of, or the thoughts or feelings which underlay the words of those passages.

I think that I have discovered three such pairs of

corresponding passages, and I would specially call the attention of the critical reader to the fact in each of these pairs—the act, or purpose, or feeling, which in 2 Corinthians x.–xiii. is present or future, in 2 Corinthians i.–ix. is spoken of as belonging to the past.

The first of these passages which I shall adduce is 2 Corinthians xiii. 10: "For this cause I write these things while absent that I may not when present deal sharply" *διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἀπὼν γράφω, ἵνα παρὼν μὴ ἀποτόμως χρήσωμαι.*

With this I would compare 2 Corinthians ii. 3, "And I wrote this very thing, lest when I came I should have sorrow." *Καὶ ἔγραψα τοῦτο αὐτὸ, ἵνα μὴ ἔλθων λύπην ἔχω.* This is the very paragraph in which the Apostle is speaking of having written out of much affliction, so that unless the correspondence between the passages be merely apparent, it is a direct identification of 2 Corinthians xiii. 10 as part of the epistle referred to in 2 Corinthians ii. 4 as written *ἐκ πολλῆς θλίψεως.*

The second passage from 2 Corinthians x.–xiii. which I wish to adduce is taken from the same chapter as the last. It is 2 Corinthians xiii. 2, "If I come again, I will not spare," *ἐὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὸ πάλιν οὐ φείσομαι.* With which I compare 2 Corinthians i. 23, "To spare you I forbore to come unto Corinth," *φειδόμενος ὑμῶν οὐκετι ἦλθον εἰς Κόρινθον.* If "*οὐκετι*" here be taken in its usual meaning as equivalent to "no more," "not again," the parallelism of the two passages will be even clearer than it is in either the Revised or Authorised translations. That it should be thus translated can, I think, be proved, not only because this is the proper meaning of the word; whereas the rendering of our Authorised translation "Not as yet" would represent *οὐπω*; but also because St. Paul carrying on the thought in the following verse adds "But" (or "For," which has strong manuscript authority) "I deter-

mined this for myself, that I would not come again to you with sorrow." Here there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the word *πάλιν*. It is in fact the very word which he employed in 2 Corinthians xiii. 2.

The passages which I have quoted from, 2 Corinthians x.-xiii., are both taken from the closing chapter, and the corresponding passages from 2 Corinthians i.-ix. have been found near the opening of the epistle. This is what might have been expected *a priori* in letters standing to each other in the relation in which I contend that these epistles stand. It would in such a case be highly probable that the opening part of the later letter would contain references to the thoughts and plans which had occupied the mind of the writer when he was concluding the letter which immediately preceded it.

The next passage to which I would ask the critical reader to turn is to be found in 2 Corinthians x. 6: "Being in a readiness to avenge all disobedience, when your obedience shall be fulfilled"; but the corresponding passage in 2 Corinthians i.-ix. is, like the two former ones, taken from the portion of the epistle where St. Paul is speaking of the letter written *ἐκ πολλῆς θλίψεως*. It will be found in 2 Corinthians ii. 9: "For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye are obedient in all things." His words imply that he is satisfied that they are now obedient in all things; and later on he expressly asserts this; for in 2 Corinthians vii. 15, 16 he says (speaking of the result of Titus's mission), "Whilst he remembereth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him. I rejoice therefore that in everything I am of good courage concerning you." He is now so far from any longer entertaining the purpose "to avenge disobedience," that he gives the Corinthian Church a *carte blanche* in the matter of forgiveness in the very next verse to the one which

I have quoted as a parallel. "To whom ye forgive anything I forgive also." 2 Corinthians ii. 10.

These pairs of corresponding passages, important as I believe them to be, form but a portion of the mass of evidence which can be produced. The best way of giving an idea of the number of ways in which this theory can be tested will be to mention briefly some of the alterations in the opinions that are held concerning the time and place of origin of 1 and 2 Corinthians, which would necessarily follow from the establishment of the theory as I hold it.

But I must first state the theory itself more fully than I have as yet done. The thesis which I have to prove is this—That there were four epistles written by St. Paul to the Corinthian Church. The first of these is alluded to in 1 Corinthians v. 9, and is now admitted by almost all commentators to be lost. The second is our 1 Corinthians. The beginning of the third epistle and the end of the fourth are lost, having perished before the first copy of our existing texts was made—very possibly from the same cause to which we owe the destruction of the first letter. It is probable from the allusions in 2 John 12 and 3 John 13, that some at least of the epistles were written on papyrus, which is a very perishable material and could easily be destroyed by constant handling or by any one out of the many accidents to which papers are exposed. (Bishop Lightfoot in his note on the lost epistles of St. Paul to the Philippians reminds us that "on the ground of inspiration we cannot assuredly claim for the letters of the Apostle an immunity from the ravages of time, which was denied to the words of the Saviour Himself.") The part which remains to us of the third Epistle is, as I believe, contained in 2 Corinthians x.-xiii., and the fourth Epistle in 2 Corinthians i.-ix. The fourth Epistle is probably almost entire; for the

closing verses of 2 Corinthians vii. have all the appearance of being the conclusion of the discussion of the troubles which had agitated the Apostle but were now happily ended ; and in the eighth chapter he passes to the topic of the Collection, which in 1 Corinthians comes at the end of all the doctrinal and disciplinary discussions, and immediately before the final messages and salutations.

How the maker of the first copy of these epistles came to unite in one the fragments of two letters cannot of course be shown with certainty ; but I think we may perceive a very probable cause for his mistake. The closing portion of the fourth Epistle, which forms the ninth chapter of 2 Corinthians, refers to an approaching visit to be paid by the Apostle, while the tenth chapter also speaks of a visit. It is indeed a visit of a very different kind. There is an apparent resemblance concealing a deep-seated difference ; but this is precisely the complexion of things which would be likely to mislead a copyist, and cause him to unite the two, placing the epistle which had lost its beginning after the epistle which had lost its conclusion. Once the mistake was made it would be irreparable, and would be necessarily followed by all subsequent copies. The Jews used to show their respect for sacred manuscripts in a very different way from that which would be followed by the men of the nineteenth century. We would preserve them carefully in our libraries. They used reverently to bury the papyrus or parchment lest it should ever be put to unhallowed uses ; and as we know that in the earliest days the Christian Church followed in many things the customs of the Synagogue, it is probable that when a copy had been made on very superior material, the Jewish mode of sepulture would be the fate of the old and tattered pieces of papyrus which we would have looked on as so priceless.

This is an outline of the theory, and I will now state briefly its necessary consequences. If it be true, 2 Corin-

thians x.-xiii. must have been written from Ephesus, not from Macedonia; 1 Corinthians cannot be the Epistle referred to in 2 Corinthians ii. 3; and, furthermore, it must have been written at a longer interval before the departure of the Apostle from Ephesus than has been generally supposed hitherto. It is scarcely possible that a false theory, which necessitated such various changes, would not expose itself to conclusive refutation under some of these heads; and it is still more unlikely that there could possibly be an apparently strong confirmation under every one of them, if the theory were really false and the changes were aberrations from the true point of view. I hope to be able to show that there is so strong a confirmation of the theory derived from each of these separate and distinct means of testing it, as is incompatible with the falsehood of the theory itself.

J. H. KENNEDY.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE craving for union among Christian Churches has already given rise to a large and varied literature, but no book recently published seems to strike so keen a blow at the true root of alienation as *Dogma in Religion and Creeds in the Church*, by John Kinross, D.D., Principal of St. Andrew's College, University of Sydney (James Thin, Edinburgh). The author is not one of those to whom dogma is a red rag. On the contrary, he has mastered dogmatic theology, and advocates its claims. But he insists that its province and function have been misunderstood, and that it has been allowed needlessly to sever Churches. He seeks to divide dogmas into fundamental and non-fundamental, and holds that the incarnation and the atonement must be included in the Church's creed. It may be doubted whether this is the surest way to union. Personal and practical submission to Christ as King is undoubtedly that which constitutes membership in the Christian Church. Not the acceptance of certain truths about Christ, but allegiance to Him as our moral Supreme, is the essential of Christianity. Were this universally recognised, Churches would make less of their doctrinal differences, and, even though they remained apart, would approach one another in spirit. Dr. Kinross' book is timely, and is well worth pondering.

Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall, of Brooklyn, has issued through Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton *The Gospel of the Divine Sacrifice*. His theory of the Atonement is that "the Holy Sacrifice of the God-Man meets, on behalf of a beloved but sinful race, the necessary moral demand in the Nature of God the Righteous for the judgment and condemnation of sin." This idea is arrived at by steps which are justified to reason, and which are stated in language calculated to avoid giving offence to sensitive persons. In answering the question, Can there be forgiveness without sacrifice? perhaps Dr. Hall bases his answer too much on considerations arising out of the Divine nature, and makes too little of the consequences to man which would result from forgiveness without any demonstration of the evil of sin. The small volume is easily read, and those who read it will recognise the clearness of its thinking. It may be added that it is a beautiful specimen of American printing.

We have also received *Catholic Christianity*, by the Rev. Lewis C. Price (Messrs. James Parker & Co.); a text-book of Church teaching for those desiring to become good Catholic Christians, with instruction as to what they must believe and do. Written by a High Churchman, it is well fitted to serve his purpose.—*The Four First Things, and other Essays*, by J. C. A. Brown (Elliot Stock); meditations, with occasional flashes of insight.—*A Plea for the Unborn*, by Henry Smith (Watts & Co.); an argument that children could, and therefore should, be born with a sound mind in a sound body, and that man may become perfect by means of selection and stirpiculture. A volume in which a good cause is spoiled by extravagant statement and ill-judged argument.—*Prayer in the Four Gospels*, by W. E. Winks (Baptist Tract and Book Society), in which statistics regarding the allusions to prayer in the Gospels are given, with the result that in the Gospel of St. Luke—the Gospel of our Lord's humanity—a larger number of instances of His praying and speaking of prayer are found.—*The Ideal City, the Crowning Vision of Patmos*, by Rev. John Thomas, M.A., of Liverpool (Arthur H. Stockwell & Co.), carefully thought, well written, and edifying interpretations of the New Jerusalem, with too much pressure of details of symbolism.—From Messrs. Alexander and Shephard we have *The Witness of History to Baptist Principles*, by W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.M., Cambridge, in which a number of passages which are supposed to favour Baptist principles are brought together; and *The Early Churches of Great Britain prior to the Coming of Augustine*, by J. Hunt Cooke, in which the evangelical teaching and resistance to Rome which characterized those Churches are brought out.—*The Science of Everlasting Life*, by Rev. Gordon P. Proctor, M.A., Beverley, is issued through Messrs. Skeffington & Son, and is a brief exposition of the beginning and maintenance of everlasting life by one who believes that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is absolutely necessary for the understanding of Christianity.—*Sermons and Addresses*, by W. C. Wheeler, M.A., Wimbledon (Messrs. James Parker & Co.), remind us of Hare's Village Sermons by their broad sense, clear perception of what is vital in religion, and perfectly lucid style.—Rabbi Wijnkoop's *Manual of Hebrew Syntax* has been translated by Dr. Van den Biesen, and is recommended by Cardinal Vaughan. (Luzac & Co.).

MARCUS DODS.

*THE MODERN OVERESTIMATE OF PAUL'S
RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.*

OF late years there has been a decided inclination in certain quarters to overestimate the place and influence of Paul in the origination and early diffusion of Christianity. In some cases this has been done almost to the extent of putting Christ aside altogether, and making Paul the real founder of the Christian faith and Church. This course has been followed more especially by anti-supernaturalist critics, but even authors of the more positive and Catholic side have sometimes manifested the same tendency.

In general we may say that this overestimate of the part played by Paul in the founding of Christianity has been a characteristic of the more immediate school of Baur. This fact is frankly acknowledged by Professor Pfeiderer himself. He says:—"In the case of the earlier theologians of the so-called Tübingen School there was perceptible a certain inclination, in dwelling on the theological originality of the Apostle Paul, to put into the background his religious dependence on Jesus in such a way that it might seem as if Christianity had proceeded really not from Jesus, but from Paul. That was, indeed, never Baur's opinion; but in his pupil Schweigler's account of primitive Christianity an inference of this kind might undoubtedly seem to be implied. The inference has been subsequently made by others, and most distinctly by the philosopher Edouard von Hartmann, in his work on the *Entwicklung des religiösen Bewusstseins der Menschheit*. According to Von Hartmann, Paul, as 'the inventor of heathen (Gentile) Christianity and the dogma of Salvation,' is alone entitled to be considered the

author of the Christian religion of Salvation."¹ And Pfleiderer himself admits that, "It is true that the Messianic movement would not have become the universal religion of Christianity without the work of Paul."² Again, he elsewhere says, "It was Paul who rescued the life-work of Jesus from sticking fast, and perishing under the ban of Jewish traditionalism, inasmuch as he freed the Christian faith from the religion of the law, and thereby first made it an independent religion, and a religion for humanity."³ As a very high authority says, "For this writer Paulinism is Christianity."

As a pronounced example of the same tendency in our own country we may adduce *The Natural History of Christianity* by Dr. William Mackintosh. In this volume the author would fain persuade us to believe that Paul is practically the founder of Christianity as commonly understood. He draws a sharp "distinction between the religion of Jesus and the Pauline or Christian religion," that is, the prevalent Christianity from Christ downwards. He speaks of the passage from the one to the other as "a fall," and says, "This fall consisted in the conversion of the simple doctrine of Jesus into the complex dogma of St. Paul, by which the whole subsequent development of Christian theology has been determined."⁴ And again he says, "It is just possible that the religion of Jesus, in its simple, calm, and somewhat jejune form, could not of itself have maintained its place in the world, nor have supplied the generating principle of a renovated society. But St. Paul, by retaining in connexion with it some of the inherited forms of religious thought, and by casting it in the historico-dogmatic form in association with the life and person of Jesus, was enabled to procure for it entrance into men's minds."⁵ In view of the above, and

¹ Pfleiderer, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1885, pp. 8 f. (3rd edition).

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ *Urchristenthum*, pp. 27 f.

⁴ *The Natural History of the Christian Religion*, pp. 402 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 388 f.

much more to the same effect, Professor Bruce has good ground for his assertion that "On the Tübingen theory, Christianity would have been a failure but for Paul," and for his protest against "the widespread tendency to make him the author of Christianity."¹

There must, of course, be some ground to give a semblance of truth to the view that Paul is the originator and founder of Christianity, and the apparent ground is not difficult to find. It lies mainly in the fact that he is the greatest *enunciator* of Christian truth, and people do not always distinguish between the enunciator and the originator. Christ Himself is Christianity, and it was not so much His work to formulate it as to *be* Christianity and to *make* it. But Paul as an apostle enunciated, and, as a man of logical mind and training, naturally worked out in somewhat systematic form, the truth existing and incarnate in Christ, and no doubt gave the shaping of the doctrines a flavour of his own idiosyncrasy. Nevertheless he is only the enunciator, the expositor of what is in Christ, and he did not originate the doctrines any more than does the theologian of the present day, when he enunciates and expounds them in his system of theology.

Furthermore, when the death of Christ took place, a new factor of prime importance was introduced, a new point of departure was reached in the development of Christian doctrine. The Crucifixion called for an explanation of its meaning, and this led the way to a full statement and enunciation of the doctrine of the Atonement, of which Christ in His teaching had naturally only given the germ, His death not yet being an accomplished fact. This exposition of the atoning significance of Christ's death it fell to Paul as well as to Peter and John to make, but this by no means proves that he was the originator of the doctrine. It already existed as an *historical fact* in the Crucifixion,

¹ *Apologetics*, pp. 418, 416.

and he only gave expression to it. Moreover, the *development of doctrine* resulting from Christ's promise of the Spirit to guide the apostles into all truth (John xiv. 26, xv. 13) led to a fuller statement of doctrine all along the line. In this development, Paul, like the other apostles, had his share, otherwise there would have been no great reason for his existence as a revealer of Christian truth. But because of this further development of the truth beyond the mere teaching of Jesus Himself, we must not be misled to regard the Apostle as the founder or inventor of Christianity, or even of any special truth which he may have enunciated. Not only is all the developed doctrine to be found in germ in Christ's own teaching; it fully exists in the personal Christ, and Paul merely gives us an enunciation of it.

In passing from the substance of Christianity to the evidence for it, we find without doubt that the evidence furnished by Paul and his experience is of the very highest importance. The facts of his Pharisaic upbringing and belief, his position as a contemporary and a persecutor who knew all about Christianity as looked at from the side of its deadly enemies, the suddenness and sincerity of his conversion, his complete surrender of all for Christ, his manifold persecutions and his final martyrdom, all enthusiastically borne, form a proof of the weightiest kind. Furthermore, this proof is greatly intensified by the fact that his first four epistles are acknowledged by all fair and competent critics to be unquestionably genuine, and written before A.D. 60, so that we have an accepted foundation on which to rest the proof. Altogether the proof from Paul has the great advantage of being very definite, capable of being expressed in brief form and of being easily grasped, so that it is one of the most useful working apologetic arguments. But any such overestimate as would make it the only reliable, or even the supreme proof of Christianity is a mistake, and can be productive only of evil. Such a

view is not only an aberration from historical fact, but it introduces confusion, if we may so say, into the curve of Christianity by making what should be a perfect circle, with Christ for its centre, into an ellipse with Paul and Christ for its two foci. Moreover, it ultimately tends to weaken the proof by leading inquirers to look to Paul for the supreme evidence for Christ, instead of looking directly to Christ Himself; in other words, to look to the moon for the evidence of the existence of the sun, rather than to the sun itself. Our object is to show that the general view stated above is exaggerated, if not altogether untrue.

For one thing, Christianity and the Christian Church existed before the conversion of Paul, and even in spite of all his bitter persecution. He refers once and again, in his four unquestionable Epistles, to his furious persecutions of the Church: "I am the least of the apostles, that am not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God" (1 Cor. xv. 9); and again: "Beyond measure I persecuted the Church of God and made havock of it" (Gal. i. 13). Furthermore, Christianity and the Church not only existed before his conversion, but were widely spread and still spreading. He speaks of "the Churches in Judæa which were in Christ" before his conversion (Gal. i. 22); and when he was arrested by Christ on his way to Damascus, he was on an errand of persecution, which shows that the Church had already gained a settlement in that distant city. From all this it appears most clearly that Christianity and the Church not only existed, but had obtained a wide hold before his conversion, and that even in spite of his fanatical persecution; and how, then, can it be said with any reason that Paul was the founder of Christianity and the Christian Church, which he did his very utmost to annihilate?

We would draw attention to the important fact that, though Paul was the Apostle of the Gentiles, he was

plainly not the first to preach the gospel to them and admit them into the Christian Church. Before his apostolic work began, Philip the Evangelist had already admitted the Ethiopian eunuch; Peter had baptized Cornelius and his circle; and we read that they "that were scattered upon the tribulation that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phœnicia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking the word to none save only to the Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them; and a great number that believed turned unto the Lord" (Acts xi. 19-21, R.V.). The statement of Weizsäcker—"There can be no doubt that the marvellous extension of the faith beyond the limits of Judaism, in other words, Gentile Christianity, was due to Saul, soon now to be called Paul, and to no other"¹—goes quite beyond the New Testament record.

If we turn our attention to the great mother-churches of the first Christian age, those Churches which were the centres of Christian life, influence, and conquest, we shall find, singularly enough, that only one of them owed its origin to Paul, and that one of the less important. The first of these mother-churches is that of Jerusalem; but with the founding of this one, of course, Paul had nothing to do. All that he did with regard to it was to persecute it to the uttermost. The next mother-church is that of Antioch; but the Apostle had just as little to do with the planting of this Church as of that at Jerusalem. It had been founded some years before Barnabas brought him upon the scene, and it was only the splendid success with which the Gospel met at Antioch that led Barnabas to seek and fetch Saul from Tarsus to be a fellow-helper (Acts xi. 19-26). With Ephesus it is somewhat different. Paul

¹ *Apostolic Age*, vol. i. p. 93 (Williams and Norgate).

was the founder of the Ephesian Church (Acts xix.) ; but that Church can scarcely be regarded as of the first rank among the original mother-churches. As Weizsäcker frankly admits, "All that we know of the termination of Paul's long residence there discloses not only a gloomy result, but absolutely a destruction of all his work,"¹ and in any case, at a comparatively early date, the candlestick of Ephesus was removed out of its place. The next great mother-church we naturally mention is that of Alexandria; but with it also Paul had absolutely nothing to do. And last, and in some respects the most important of all, is the Church at Rome. But of this, again, we know for certain that the Apostle was not the founder. Several years before he ever saw Rome, in the year 58, when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, the Church in that city must have been of many years' standing. It was already influential and well known throughout infant Christendom: "Your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world" (Rom. i. 8); "Your obedience is come abroad unto all men" (Rom. xvi. 19). Even making due allowance for the Church at Ephesus, we may confidently say that the great evangelizing centres of the first Christian age owed their origin to other workers than Paul. The Churches which he founded in Asia, Macedonia, and Greece never attained to any such importance and influence as those of Jerusalem and Antioch, Alexandria and Rome. To quote from Renan: "His Churches were either not very solid or they disowned him. The Churches of Macedonia and Galatia, which are indeed his own proper work, have little importance in the second and third centuries. The Churches of Corinth and Ephesus, which do not belong to him by a title so exclusive, pass over to his enemies, or do not feel themselves to be founded canonically enough if they have been founded only by him."²

¹ *Apostolic Age*, vol. ii. pp. 162, 165.

² *Saint Paul*, pp. 563 f.

It might, however, have been possible on other grounds to make out a case for the high position claimed for Paul. He might have been the recorder of facts in our Lord's life and work of such fundamental importance that without them Christianity and the Christian Church could not have survived. But this, we need scarcely say, is not the case. The facts with regard to our Lord's history recorded by Paul, and not explicitly mentioned by the Evangelists, are few and unimportant. They are such as His appearances after the resurrection to the five hundred brethren, and to James (1 Cor. xv. 6, 7). Beyond all question, it is not on Paul's Epistles, but on the record of the four Gospels, that the Church has always lived, and upon them it has always depended for that powerful picture of the life and character of Christ which has in all ages captivated and held in thrall the minds, the hearts, and the imaginations of men. As their very place at the beginning of the New Testament implies, it is the Gospels and not the Epistles of Paul that form the foundations of Christianity and the Church. Without these Gospels Paul's Epistles themselves would want their proper foundation; they would be left hanging in mid-air, and could not even be understood. "To people who had never heard the principal Gospel narratives, his Epistles would present insoluble enigmas at every line."¹

It might, however, be supposable that the doctrines of Christianity revealed by Paul, and by him alone, are of such importance as to be absolutely essential to its existence in the world. But this is equally untenable. All the fundamental doctrines which he reveals are already to be found in Jesus and the teaching of Jesus in the four Gospels. It is Christ, and not Paul, that is the originator of them. This will be seen at once by a rapid review of what are regarded as the leading characteristic doctrines of the Apostle. He teaches the doctrine of universal sinfulness (Rom. iii. 23);

¹ Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul*, p. 83.

but so does Christ: "If ye, *being evil*, know how to give good gifts unto your children" (Matt. vii. 11); "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (John iii. 3). Paul teaches explicitly the divinity of our Lord (Rom. ix. 5, etc.); but so does Christ Himself when He says, "I and My Father are one" (John x. 30 with 33), and when He declares it to be the Divine purpose "that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father" (John v. 23). Paul teaches the doctrine of the Atonement; but so does Christ before him: "The Son of Man came to give His life a ransom for many" (Matt. xx. 28; Mark x. 45). Paul teaches justification, or salvation by faith in Christ; but so does the Master: "He that believeth on Me is not condemned" (John iii. 18); and again, in the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, He says of the latter, "This man went down to his house justified rather than the other" (Luke xviii. 14). Paul teaches the doctrine of regeneration—"the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost" (Titus iii. 5); but so emphatically does Christ: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (John iii. 5). Paul teaches the federal headship of Christ; he calls Him "the last Adam" (1 Cor. xv. 45); but so also does Christ: He speaks of Himself as "the Son of Man," and of His blood as "the blood of the new covenant" (Matt. xxvi. 28), in which latter expression we have to think of Him as our covenant or federal Head. Again, if the Apostle dwells on Christ's headship over the angelic world and His cosmical relationship (Eph. i. 20, 21; Phil. ii. 9-11, etc.), is not the germ of this teaching already to be found in Christ's own utterance: "All power [authority] is given unto Me in heaven and in earth" (Matt. xxviii. 18)? One of the characteristic doctrines of Paul is said to be the contrast between "the flesh and the spirit," but we find the

germ of this also in Christ's own teaching: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit" (John iii. 6; cf. also Matt. xxvi. 41). Paul teaches the universal destination of Christianity: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free" (Col. iii. 11); but we have the same universalism already in Christ, and in the noblest key: "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John iii. 16); "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness to all nations" (Matt. xxiv. 14). Paul teaches the sovereignty of God in election; but Christ says, "All that the Father giveth Me shall come unto Me" (John vi. 37). Once more, Paul teaches the resurrection, the last judgment, the future perdition of the wicked, and the blessedness of believers, but so does Christ before him: "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in their tombs shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment" (John v. 28, 29). We need only to recall to mind the well-known passage in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew (vv. 31-46), closing with the solemn words, "And these shall go away into eternal punishment; but the righteous into eternal life." Nothing can be more certain with regard to the doctrines that Paul teaches than that it is Christ who is the original, and not Paul, though at times the specific form may be his. Indeed, Paul himself, in one of his unquestioned Epistles, declares this in the most emphatic language: "I make known to you, brethren, as touching the gospel which was preached by me, that it is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. i. 11, 12). "I know not," says Godet, "of what part of the teaching

or work of Paul one would not find the principle already laid down in the life and words of the Lord. Jesus has, if I may say so, drawn the apex of the angle, of which Paul has only prolonged the sides."¹

In like manner it would be easy to show that there is no essential doctrine of Christianity taught by Paul which has not been explicitly taught by some one of the other New Testament writers; but to prove this in detail is quite unnecessary to our purpose. It is certain that if all Paul's Epistles had been lost, our creed would in no material way be different from what it is, although the technical statement of some of the doctrines might be slightly different. This is settled most briefly and conclusively by Paul's own emphatic declaration in Galatians ii. He tells us there that, when at Jerusalem, he compared his gospel with that of the three "pillars, James, Cephas, and John," and he explicitly states, "They imparted nothing unto me, and gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship" (Gal. ii. 6, 9). Indeed, the whole passage shows most clearly that his teaching coincided with theirs.

And what we have shown to be true with regard to the doctrines is equally true with regard to the organization and ordinances of the Church. They are all pre-Pauline. The government of the New Testament Church was very simple. It embraced two, or at the most three, classes of ordinary office-bearers, and all these existed before Paul entered on his apostolic work. This is true of the Deaconship. We read of its institution by the other apostles, when Paul was still Saul the persecutor (Acts vi.). The office of Elder also already existed before his conversion—was indeed older than Christianity itself. In any case, we read of its existence at Jerusalem when Paul visited that city at the close of his first period of work at Antioch (Acts xi. 30), and it is certain that he did not institute it there. And if we regard

¹ *Introduction to the Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 619 f.

the Evangelist as a separate office, we find "Philip, the Evangelist" at his work (Acts viii.) before the conversion of the Apostle. In like manner, when we contemplate the Sacraments of the Church, we find them both in full practice before his memorable journey to Damascus. We gather this not merely from the Gospels and the record of his baptism in Acts ix. 18, but from his own unquestioned Epistles. He refers to the fact of his own baptism when he says, "As many of *us* as were baptized into Christ were baptized into His death" (Rom. vi. 3, 4), so that Christian baptism must already have been in practice in the Church. The same is true of the Lord's Supper. He speaks of his receiving the form of institution from Christ, and he declares expressly that it was instituted by Christ Himself (1 Cor. xi. 23-29). In other words, nothing new or important in the radical organization of the Church is due originally to Paul.

With the preceding line of argument the fact agrees that the use of Paul's Epistles among the earliest writers of the Church was by no means predominant, and is far from suggesting that he was the founder of Christianity. Indeed, the very opposite is the case. It is true that we find explicit mention of the Apostle and his First Epistle to the Corinthians in the Epistle of Clement of Rome; but that is very naturally accounted for by the fact that Clement is writing to the Corinthian Church. Certainly, unless we accept Hebrews as an Epistle of Paul, Clement's Epistle bears almost as much the impress of Peter as of Paul. The influence of his Epistles on the Epistle of Barnabas and on the Didaché is small in the extreme, indeed, is scarcely traceable at all. In the Epistles of Ignatius (shorter recension) we have only six or seven very brief quotations or reminiscences. We do find a number of Pauline references in the Epistle of Polycarp, perhaps partly accounted for by the fact that the author

is writing to the Philippians, one of Paul's Churches. In any case, taking the references as given in Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, we find twenty-six from the Apostle Paul and nine from Peter, which shows a much higher proportion from the latter. When we come to Justin Martyr, we find that, with numerous references to the Gospels, there are only a few dim reminiscences and phrases traceable to Paul's writings, and not a single explicit quotation. Of course, in the great writers towards the close of the second century, such as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, we find numerous quotations from the writings of the Apostle, but in no way disproportionate to their quotations from the rest of the New Testament. To quote again from Renan: "After Paul's disappearance from the scene of his apostolic contests we shall see him almost forgotten. The second century scarcely speaks of him, and seems systematically to seek to efface his memory. His Epistles then are little read, and are of authority only for a very reduced group of Churches."¹ Harnack is equally emphatic: "Marcion was the first, and for a long time the only Gentile Christian who took his stand on Paul."² Surely this does not look as if Paul were the founder of Christianity.

But it may be said that the argument from the number of references in the earliest writers is a very superficial one. It may be that while the references are comparatively few, the type of doctrine that prevailed in the ancient Christian Church and literature is of the distinctive Pauline form. But this is not the case. Rather Paulinism so-called was at a decided discount during the earliest Christian ages, only shooting up now and then into prominence in the case of isolated men like Augustine. Indeed, the centuries before the Reformation may not unfairly be

¹ *St. Paul*, p. 564.

² *History of Dogma*, vol. i. p. 234.

described as the non-Pauline age of the Church. It was only at the Reformation that the Apostle practically was discovered, and that the Pauline age began.

Here we naturally turn first of all to the early and Catholic *Creeds* of the Church, and a brief glance is sufficient to show that in them the specialities of so-called Paulinism are conspicuous by their absence. In the Apostles' Creed there is no certain trace of Paul, and it might have obviously been the same if he had never lived and written. Almost as much may be said with regard both to the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds. If there be expressions in them that remind us of Paul, they do not go very far. Indeed, the only doctrinal expression contained in the latter which reminds us of Paul is "The Holy Spirit, the Lord, and the Giver of life" (cf. 2 Cor. iii. 18, 6), although the latter expression may just as likely be derived from our Lord's utterance in John vi. 63. Evidently, if we are to accept the witness of the Creeds, their testimony is decidedly against regarding Paul as the founder or even predominant power in moulding the doctrine of the early Church.

We must come to very much the same conclusion when we contemplate the type of doctrine found in the early Christian authors. Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, shows a certain understanding of Paul's mode of putting justification by faith, and that he belongs in a general way to his school, but he shows almost as much the special influence of Peter. In Barnabas we have a prevalent type of style and thought quite unlike that of Paul, and a form of doctrine with scarcely a tincture of specific Paulinism. In the Didaché there is nothing of the distinctive Pauline form. The same thing may be said to be true to a large extent with regard to the Ignatian Epistles; and while Polycarp contains relatively many references to Paul, yet he is so intensely practical that it is difficult to

say whether his type of doctrine is more Petrine, or Johannine, or Pauline. The writings of Justin are much more Johannine than Pauline, as is seen from the fact that the Logos forms the centre of his theological system; he has indeed scarcely any of the special traces of Paulinism at all. The same may be said of Theophilus of Antioch; and if it be not quite warrantable to describe Hermas as anti-Pauline, we may at least classify him as quite non-Pauline. Of the great authors at the close of the second century, there is not one that can be characterised as pronouncedly Pauline in anything like the Reformation or modern sense. Irenæus, as might perhaps be expected, is more Johannine than Pauline; he has at the most only traces of "Pauline thoughts," and certainly his strongly legal conception of Christianity is very different from the spirit and form of Paul's representation. Clement of Alexandria, like Irenæus, is also more Johannine than Pauline, as may be seen in a general way from the prominence he gives to the idea of the Logos. The same may be said of Origen, and certainly both of these great Alexandrians present a striking contrast to Paul in their philosophising methods. As for Tertullian, his theology, like Paul's, moved around the two centres of sin and grace, and he may have been the first step in the stairway that led up to Augustine, yet his system, with its doctrine of merit, its Montanistic aberrations and extreme asceticism, and its pronounced Chiliasm, can only in a modified sense be called Pauline. Indeed, the only author of the second century who shows decided devotion to Paul is the heretic Marcion, but he again differs widely from the Apostle in his fantastic Gnosticism, and in any case his movement soon died out. We do not need to come further down the stream of Christian literature than the close of the second century, for by this date the Christian doctrine and Church are both established, and down to this date the type of doctrine is

not such as to prove that Paul was the founder of Christianity, or even the most important factor in shaping the doctrine of the ancient Church. Even Weizsäcker confesses: "When we review the development of Christian theology in the period subsequent to Paul, we are astonished to find that only a part of his work was taken up and carried out."¹ As Harnack puts it: "The later development of the Church cannot be explained from Paulinism"; and again, "The attempts at deducing the genesis of the Christian doctrinal system from the theology of Paul will always miscarry."²

The most powerful argument, however, yet remains. Nothing can prove so effectively that Christ was at once the Founder and the very substance of Christianity as Paul's own unquestioned epistles themselves. The Apostle, indeed, would have been utterly horrified at the bare thought that he, and not Christ, should be regarded as the founder of Christianity, and would have met it with a characteristic "God forbid." From the unquestioned epistles we learn that, instead of Paul being the originator of our religion and the rehabilitator of Christ, it is Christ Himself who is the very sum and substance of Paul's teaching: "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified" (1 Cor. ii. 2). He represents Christ as his very life: "I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20). He speaks of Christ as being his supreme glory: "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Gal. vi. 14). To him, "Christ is all and in all" (Col. iii. 11). But, indeed, there is no use in quoting individual passages, for the whole texture of the Epistles is of the same tenour. In view of this, surely nothing can prove more overwhelmingly than the Apostle's own Epistles that Christ and not Paul was the originator, that it was not

¹ *Apostolic Age*, vol. i. p. 173.

² *History of Dogma*, vol. i. p. 148 and p. 149, note.

Paul that made Christ, but Christ that made Paul what he was. We conclude, therefore, that Christianity, instead of becoming extinct if Paul had not appeared upon the scene, would have been very much the same in substance as it is, and would have had very much the same triumphant career.

We need scarcely remark in closing that our contention in no way lessens the value of the apologetic argument derived from the conversion, life, and writings of the Apostle. The argument, indeed, remains exactly as it was before. Our line of thought only gives increased force and prominence to the evidence for Christianity that existed *before* Paul. It emphasises the fact that *before* and *aback* of Paul, and quite independent of him, there was evidence existing for Christianity so powerful as to conquer the bigoted Pharisee and persecutor, who had the means of attaining to full and first-hand knowledge of all the details. This evidence is nothing less than *Christ Himself*, who is at once the supreme evidence as well as the substance of Christianity. Our argument really removes Paul from standing in front of Christ and so far obscuring Him, and tends to bring Christ Himself directly and supremely into view, as the One who virtually speaks to us in Paul.

ALEXANDER MAIR.

THE SAYINGS OF JESUS.

To those who are interested in the early history of Christianity there probably has never been published a better sixpenny-worth than the little tract in which Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt introduce us to the newly-discovered leaf of *The Sayings of Jesus*. The reproduction of the original papyrus, the introduction, the text, the translation and notes, and the general remarks are all excellent. We

may express the hope that this publication will attract subscribers to the Egyptian Exploration Fund and the Græco-Roman branch of it. A subscription of one guinea per annum to the latter will entitle the subscriber to the annual volume, which is intended to be of about 300 quarto pages, with facsimile plates of the more important papyri, under the editorship of the same two gentlemen who have produced this edition of the *Logia*.

There will no doubt be guesses in plenty as to the way in which the *lacunæ* in the papyrus ought to be filled up. Even the best guesses will be worth little, unless they are supported by some sort of confirmatory evidence. Nevertheless guessing is attractive, and even a foolish guess may suggest a clue to those who are wiser. I, therefore, venture to offer the following conjectures.

The third saying (lines 11-21 in the papyrus) runs as follows :—

- (11) ΛΕΓΕΙ Τ̄C Ε[C]ΤΗΝ
- (12) ΕΝ ΜΕCΩ ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ
- (13) ΚΑΙ ΕΝ CΑΡΚΕΙ ΩΦΘΗΝ
- (14) ΑΥΤΟΙC ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΟΝ ΠΑΝ
- (15) ΤΑC ΜΕΘΥΟΝΤΑC ΚΑΙ
- (16) ΟΥΔΕΝΑ ΕΥΡΟΝ ΔΕΙΨ̄Ω
- (17) ΤΑ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙC ΚΑΙ ΠΟ
- (18) ΝΕΙ Η ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ ΕΠΙ
- (19) ΤΟΙC ΥΙΟΙC ΤΩΝ ΑΝΩΝ
- (20) ΟΤΙ ΤΥΦΛΟΙ ΕΙCΙΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΡ
- (21) ΔΙΑ ΑΥΤΩ[N] ΚΑΙ(?) . . ΒΛΕΙC(?)

"Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and My soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart . . ."

After the above there is at least one line missing, possibly more than one, where the bottom of the page has been frayed away, and then there follows, at the top of the next page, the defective line—

(22) [. . .] . . [Τ]ΗΝ ΠΤΩΧΕΙΑ

after which another Saying begins.

Upon these two fragments the editors remark "As it is uncertain how much has been lost after line 21, line 22 may contain the end of the preceding Saying; but more probably it forms part of a distinct one."

No doubt they have reasons, which they do not give, for preferring the opinion that the two fragments belong to different Sayings. We may, however, observe that the words τυφλός and πτωχεία occurring in proximity to each other remind us of Revelation iii. 17, "and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and *poor*, and *blind*, and naked," and suggests that πτωχείαν may be part of the same Saying in which τυφλοί occurs. If there be only one line missing, it is possible that the connexion may have been something like the following:—

ὅτι τυφλοί εἰσιν τῇ καρ
δίᾳ αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐ βλέπ
ουσιν, πτωχοί καὶ οὐκ
οἶδασιν τὴν πτωχείαν.

"*Because they are blind in their heart, and do not see, poor, and do not know their poverty.*"

Even if there be two or three lines missing, it is still possible that the third Saying may have been long enough to end with πτωχείαν. To complete the third Saying and commence another would be likely to take more than two or three lines. The average length of the complete Sayings in the fragment is about seven lines.

The fifth Saying (lines 23-30 in the papyrus) runs as follows:—

- (23) [ΛΕΓ]ΕΙ [ΙΤ ΟΠ]ΟΥ ΕΑΝ ΩCIN
 (24) [. . . .]Ε[. . .] . . Θ(?)ΕΟΙ ΚΑΙ
 (25) [. .]C(?)Ο(?) . Ε[. .] ΕCΤΙΝ ΜΟΝΟC
 (26) [. .]Τ(?)Ω ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΜΕΤ ΑΥ
 (27) Τ[ΟΥ] ΕΓΕΙΡΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΙΘΟ
 (28) ΚΑΚΕΙ ΕΥΡΗCΕΙC ΜΕ
 (29) CΧΙCΟΝ ΤΟ ΞΥΛΟΝ ΚΑΓΩ
 (30) ΕΚΕΙ ΕΙΜΙ

"Jesus saith, Wherever there are . . . and there is (one) . . . alone, I am with him. Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood, and there am I."

"It seems fairly certain," Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt remark, that this saying "offers a general parallel to Matthew xviii. 20—'For where two or three are gathered together,' etc., though with considerable divergences. An extension of that verse which comes nearer to our passage is found in Ephraem Syr., *Evang. Concord. Expos.*, c. 14 (v. Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 295), where the important addition *ubi unus est* corresponds to *μόνος* here, and suggests that ΕΙC should be read either at the beginning of line 25 or before ΕCΤΙΝ. The meaning may then be that wherever there are several believers, or even only one, Jesus is always present."

But it appears that the word *ἄθεοι* occurs in line 24. "The remains of the letter before ΕΟΙ are consistent with Θ only, and those of the letter preceding suit Α better than Χ or Λ, which seem to be the only alternatives." We are therefore apparently compelled to read *ἄθεοι*. Therefore an alternative suggestion is made that "a contrast seems to be intended between the many ungodly and the one true believer: 'Where all men else are unbelievers, if only one is (faithful), I am with him.'"

If we are to take *ἄθεος* in this sense, I venture to suggest that the passage, as it stands, without the addition of any

new thought, affords a meaning which, though perhaps somewhat unexpected, is at least quite clear, and consistent with the rest of the Saying. Is it not possible that the whole passage may have run somewhat as follows?

- (21) ΛΕΓΕΙ ΤΣ, ΟΠΟΥ ΕΑΝ ΩCΙΝ
 (22) [ΑΝΔΡΕC ΚΑΙ] ΑΘΕΟΙ, ΚΑΙ
 (23) [ΕΙ ΠΟΥ ΕΙC] ΕCΤΙΝ ΜΟΝΟC,
 (24) [ΛΕΓΩ] ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΜΕΤ ΑΥ
 (25) ΤΟΥ. ΕΓΕΙΡΟΝ ΤΟΝ Κ.Τ.Λ.

This would give to the whole Saying a clear and consistent meaning, that the presence of Him, "by whom all things were made," and who "upholdeth all things by the word of His power," who "for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven," and "stood in the midst of the world," while his soul "grieved over the sons of men," is present even with the sinner and the ungodly, as He is in all creation :—

"Jesus says : Wherever there be men, even ungodly men, and even if anywhere there is one alone, I say, I am with that one. Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find Me. Cleave the wood, and I am there."

But a better solution, if it be a possible one, would be to suppose *ἄθεοι* to be a predicate, and the end of a first apodosis, to insert before it the words *οὐκ εἰσιν*, which would agree with the vestiges of uncertain letters, and to suppose before these words some such word as *πιστοί*, *μαθηταί*, *προσευχόμενοι*, or such like.¹ The whole would then run : "Wherever there may be disciples (or, faithful, etc.), they are not without God, and even if there is one alone, I am with him," etc. The objection to this solution would be the difficulty of finding room for all the letters in

¹ This would agree best with the duplicate structure of the other Sayings. See below.

μαθηταί (πιστοί, etc.). Possibly, however, this difficulty might disappear, if any of the requisite words could be represented by an abbreviation for which there would be space in the MS. It is not easy to say from the reproduction how much space there would be. But it is said that the MS. itself is much clearer. If this solution could be adopted, it would bring us back to the first conjecture of Messrs. Hunt and Grenfell. The sense which it gives to the word ἄθροι is perhaps better than that given in the last solution, or in that proposed by the editors.

We are assuming that the letters αθροι in line 22 represent the word ἄθροι. But perhaps this may not be so. Possibly the five letters may be the end of a longer word. If so, what can the longer word be? One thinks of the Homeric words ζάθροι and ἡγάθροι, both of which were used by Christian poets or epigrammatists, though not in exactly the sense required here. Still it is hard to limit the meaning of words that had so long a life, and καὶ δέκα ἡγάθροι, "even ten righteous," would make good sense in line 24 (compare Genesis xviii. 24, 26, 32). Other words that might fit in at the beginning of the line are πέντε, or καὶ πέντε, or σύλλεκτοι, or προσευχή, προσευχόμενοι, etc.

Desiring to escape from the "pantheistic" interpretation of the latter part of this Saying, the editors propose another possible explanation of the words, namely, "to regard them as a parallel to Matthew vii. 7, 'Ask, and it shall be given you,' and as intended to teach the effort required in order to find Christ."

With the same object in view, Mr. Grenfell is reported to have suggested, in a lecture recently delivered at Scarborough, "that the saying really involved a promise to be with the true believer, not merely in the act of worship, 'where two or three are gathered together,' but in the every-day labour of the world. It was addressed to the pessimistic mind, which regarded toil and labour as

drudgery and sorrow, and what it said was, 'Labour is not sorrow. In labour you will find Me. I am with you just as much in toil and work as in fasting and meditation and prayer. My presence may be just as real to you when you raise the stone or cleave the wood, as when you are actually engaged in worship,' and did they not think there was a peculiar dramatic fitness in the symbols used by the carpenter's son?"¹

It is hard to resist an interpretation that is put so attractively. But it can hardly be denied that it is not the interpretation which naturally occurs to us when we read the words themselves without any preconceived theory as to their origin. In the case of a document about which we know so little, our safest plan will be to take everything that it says in the simplest and most natural sense, and then to construct our theories about the authorship or origin of the document.

It is not intended by this to imply that the words in question must of necessity be taken in a pantheistic sense. They may mean no more than the words of the Psalm, which we have been accustomed to sing Sunday after Sunday without any suspicion of unorthodoxy:—

"If I climb up unto heaven, Thou art there: if I go down to hell, Thou art there also.

"If I take the wings of the morning: and remain in the uttermost parts of the sea;

"Even there also shall Thy hand lead me: and Thy right hand shall hold me."²

With regard to the relation between the fragment and the other remains of early Christian literature, the editors express the opinion that it is quite possible that the sayings "embody a tradition independent of those which have taken shape in our canonical Gospels" (p. 18). This is better

¹ *Scarborough Post*, Thursday, August 12th, 1897.

² Psalm cxxxix. (Prayer-Book Version).

than assuming that the work must have been founded on the Gospels, and then exerting our ingenuity to explain its variations from them. We have been too much in the habit of explaining everything by the historical and literary remains that have come down to us, and too ready to forget the obvious conclusions to be drawn from the preface to St. Luke's Gospel. There was much in the early days of the Church of which little or no record has reached us, as there may have been many men, teachers, thinkers, or administrators, whose names have been forgotten. One fact alone will illustrate the fragmentary nature of our knowledge of those times, that of nine or ten out of the twelve apostles whom the Master is recorded to have appointed to carry on his work and preach the Gospel to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem, and to whom the traditions of later times ascribe the founding of a widely extended Church, there is not, outside of the Gospels, if we except a few words in the Acts of the Apostles, a single trace of any kind of certain historical record; and all that we know of the other two or three might be written down on two sides of a slate. This papyrus leaf from the rubbish-heap of Oxyrhynchus is like a broken branch floating up from a submerged country. A comparison of it with the canonical Gospels tends to the same conclusion that was at once suggested by the fragment of the Gospel of Peter. It is impossible to be satisfied with the supposition that either could have been concocted from one or more of the four canonical Gospels. The Gospels may have been in existence at the time when the Sayings were written out, and they may have been known to the writer of the Sayings. And if so, we have a simple explanation of the remarkable coincidence of the language of two of the Logia with the language of St. Luke's Gospel, and of other resemblances to the language of the Gospels. But the writer must have used other sources in addition to the Gospels. He cannot have been dependent upon them alone. But the other view

is simpler, that the sayings were written independently of the Gospels, and that the coincidences are due to the resemblance between two separate streams of tradition descending from the same source.

Whichever view we adopt, whether we suppose the writer of the Sayings to have had the Gospels before him or not, it would seem that the Sayings were collected before the canonical Gospels had acquired their present unique authority. Either hypothesis, therefore, suggests a comparatively early date. This, however, does not mean that we are prepared to go along with Professor Rendel Harris, who claims (*Contemporary Review*, September, 1897) that the contents of the fragment belong to the earliest age, that the sayings are, in fact, the first written record of the words that fell from the lips of Jesus, and that they represent the original source from which the canonical Gospels sprang. The arguments by which he supports this opinion do not appear to us to be convincing.¹ Nor do the Sayings themselves appear to agree with it. They are too elaborate. Such double Sayings, for example, as Nos. 6 and 7, "A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him," and, "A city built upon the top of a high hill can neither fall nor be hid," do not look like the originals from which the simpler Sayings which we find in the Gospels were derived, but seem rather to have been themselves made up by putting single Sayings together. The same duplicate structure appears also in the second Saying, "Except ye fast to the

¹ Mr. Rendel Harris makes a valuable contribution to the discussion of the subject when he shows that both parts of the saying about fasting and keeping the Sabbath may be understood spiritually, and that such an understanding of them would be consistent with a stream of Christian teaching. But when he asserts that the logion was the source from which this stream of teaching was derived, he seems to go beyond the evidence. As he himself reminds us, the roots of this spiritual view of ordinances may be traced back to the Book of Isaiah, and there is nothing to show whether the logion was an early or a late fruit of it.

world ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God ; and except ye keep the sabbath ye shall not see the Father'' ; and, if the *lacunæ* in Nos. 3 and 5 were filled up, we should probably find the duplication there also in a more complicated form. This does not look like the earliest presentation of the words of the Galilean Preacher. The condensation, the finished completeness, seem to stamp the sayings as coming from the study or the lecture hall rather than from the popular discourse in the village street or by the lake or mountain side. Of course it is possible to suppose that Jesus spoke in the style of the prophetic books. But if He did, this fragment is the first intimation that we have received of the fact, and the Sermon on the Mount is as unlike His original manner as the Johannine discourses. If the *Logia* be anything more than a manual composed for himself by some individual Christian with a taste for Hebrew poetry, we have now three styles of teaching attributed to Jesus—the Synoptic, the Johannine, and the style of these sayings.

The judgment of the editors is that the Sayings "were put together not later than the end of the first or the beginning of the second century" (p. 18). In reality our data seem as yet insufficient to determine either the exact date or the doctrinal character of the document.

We have followed the editors in calling the Sayings *Logia*. We must, however, on second thoughts, express regret that this title has been applied to them in the way that it has. To use this term as a name for the papyrus is to prejudice a controversy which has not yet been decided, though the discovery of the fragment may be an important contribution towards its settlement. The fragment is, no doubt, an answer to those who reject the notion of a collection of mere Sayings of our Lord as in itself incredible, but it does not prove that these Sayings were called *λόγια*.¹

¹ "Not to speak of the absurdity of supposing a collection of our Lord's

The editors assume off-hand that they were so called. On the first page of the Introduction they say that "the document in question is a leaf from a papyrus book containing a collection of Logia or Sayings of our Lord." It is certainly possible, or even probable, that these Sayings may have been called Logia. But there is no evidence yet that they were. When the editors say (p. 18) that "it is difficult to imagine a title better suited to a series of sayings, each introduced by the phrase λέγει Ἰησοῦς, than Logia; and the discovery strongly supports the view that in speaking of λόγια Papias and Eusebius intended some similar collection," they lay themselves open to the old reply from those who hold a different opinion about the Logia mentioned by Papias, that λόγοι would be just as suitable a title as λόγια, if not more suitable, and that, for all we know to the contrary, the Sayings may have been called λόγοι by the writer. If there be any truth in the interesting supposition of Mr. Rendel Harris, that the recurring formula, "Remember the words (τῶν λόγων) of the Lord Jesus, how He Himself said" (Acts xx. 35, etc.), refers to some such collection of Sayings as that to which the discovered leaf belonged (*Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1897), it would afford an argument to those who think that λόγοι would be the more likely title.

JOHN A. CROSS.

Sayings to have been made without any history of the occasions on which they were spoken, λόγια is one word, λόγοι is another. . . . Philo quotes as a λόγιον . . . the narrative in Genesis iv. 15."—Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament* (Fourth Edition), pp. 98, 99.

ST. MARK IN EARLY TRADITION.

1. ONE of the oldest and most trustworthy of Christian traditions attributes to Mark, St. Peter's "son," a collection of memoirs of St. Peter's teaching, which was identified with the canonical Gospel *Κατὰ Μάρκον*. In its earliest form the story comes from the Churches of Asia Minor, but it is confirmed by the witness of the Church of Rome and the Church of Alexandria.

The Asiatic tradition describes Mark as St. Peter's "interpreter."¹ The word is ambiguous; the *ἐρμηνεύς* or *ἐρμηνευτής* (*interpreter*) may be either the expositor who brings to light the veiled meaning of his master's words,² or the translator who renders them into another tongue. But the literal sense prevails in later and Biblical Greek,³ and it suits the manner of Papias and agrees with his context. As Link has recently shewn,⁴ the phrase *ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γεγόμενος* points to an office which Mark had fulfilled at a time previous to the writing of the Memoirs. He had once been Peter's interpreter or dragoman, and Papias mentions the circumstance in order to shew that he was qualified to report accurately the teaching which he had not only heard, but had at the time translated from Aramaic into Greek.⁵ That St. Peter had employed

¹ Papias *ap. Eus., H.E., iii. 39.*

² *E.g., Eur. fragm., σιωπῇ δ' ἄπορος ἐρμηνεύς λόγων.* Plat. *Ion*, 534 E, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ἐρμηνεῖς θεῶν.

³ Cf. *e.g., Gen. xlii. 23, 1 Cor. xiv. 28.* The word is used in this sense by Herodotus (ii. 125), and reappears in Xenophon (*Anab. i. 2, 7*).

⁴ *Th. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1896, 3.

⁵ Bishop Lightfoot indeed (*Clement*, ii., p. 494) thought that "when Mark is called *ἐρμηνευτής*, 'the interpreter' of St. Peter, the reference must be to the Latin, not to the Greek language," his reason being that "Greek was spoken commonly in the towns bordering on the Sea of Galilee, and that Peter must therefore have been well acquainted with it." But the colloquial use of a secondary language does not ensure ability to employ it in public speaking. Moreover, it is doubtful whether Latin would have been easily understood by a Roman audience of the class addressed by St. Peter. That the Gospel which Mark intended for use at Rome was written in Greek admits of no doubt,

an interpreter in his intercourse with Western Churches seems to have been a recognised fact. Basilides claimed that he had received instruction in the faith from one Glaucias, who shared with Mark the distinction of being employed in this service.¹

John the Elder, whose witness Papias gives, had formed a clear estimate of the character and value of Mark's work. It was not, he said, an orderly treatise, for St. Peter's teaching made no pretensions to method, being intended merely to satisfy the requirements of his catechumens (*πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας*); nor did it profess to be an exhaustive account of all that the Apostle said (*ἐνια γράψας, ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν*); its one aim was to record faithfully all that the interpreter had heard or could recall, and this purpose was conscientiously fulfilled. In other words Mark limited himself to the task of simply putting together his recollections of St. Peter's reminiscences, resisting the temptation to work them up into a literary form. The result was a careful report, but not an historical treatise² (*οὐ μέντοι τάξει . . . οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων*).³ Whether in compiling his materials the editor followed any chronological order or permitted himself to interpose an occasional explanatory note, the Elder does not say; but his words do not seem to exclude either of these suppositions.

though the subscriptions of the Peshitto and Harclean Syriac versions seem to infer from its place of origin that it was a Latin work.

¹ Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vii. 17, Γλαυκίαν . . . τὸν Πέτρου ἐρμηνέα.

² Τάξει must be explained, I think, by *σύνταξιν*, and *σύνταξις* implies artificial arrangement and literary skill, rather than chronological order; e.g., the writer of 2 Macc. comforts himself with the reflexion (xv. 39): τὸ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ λόγου τέρπει τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων τῇ συντάξει. St. Mark's work, if it is nearly identical with the Second Gospel, was certainly not a *σύνταξις* in this sense; its perfectly unartificial manner distinguishes it from the treatises of those writers of the first generation who, according to St. Luke, *ἐπεχείρησαν ἀναρτάσθαι διήγησιν*, and in less degree from St. Luke's own work, which was written, as he says, *καθεξῆς*, i.e., in systematic order.

³ The clause *οὐχ . . . λόγων* seems to refer to Peter; but the Interpreter's plan would follow that of the Apostle's discourses.

Irenæus was too intimately connected with the Asiatic tradition, and too deeply indebted to Papias in particular, to rank as a wholly independent witness. When he calls Mark "the disciple (or follower) and interpreter of Peter,"¹ who committed to writing the substance of Peter's preaching, it is reasonable to suppose that he is simply reproducing the Elder's testimony. But when he adds that the Memoirs were written after the decease of Peter and Paul (μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον),² he is probably on the track of another tradition learnt at Rome. Unhappily the only piece of evidence which comes from Rome direct has suffered mutilation. The first line of the Muratorian fragment is the last of the writer's account of St. Mark. But enough remains to shew what must have been the purport of his remarks. The Evangelist, not having been a personal follower of the Lord, depended upon St. Peter's recollections; some of these had not been given in his presence, but others he had heard and recorded. How far this Roman writer is indebted to Papias is uncertain; the words "[ali]quibus tamen interfuit, et ita posuit," suggest a reference to Papias's οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν.³ That the Roman traditions were in harmony with the Asiatic may be gathered also from Tertullian's words:⁴ "licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri affirmetur cuius interpres Marcus." The cautious tone of this remark seems to exclude any direct knowledge on the part of the Carthaginian

¹ Iren. *Haer.* iii. 1, 1; 10, 6.

² For this use of ἔξοδος, cf. Luke ix. 31; 2 Pet. i. 15; Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8, 2 (ἐκ' ἔξοδον τοῦ Ἰϋ). Victor, however, understands Irenæus to mean that Mark wrote μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίου ἔκδοσιν, i.e., he seems to have read μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου ἔκδοσιν.

³ Comp. Th. Zahn, *Gesch. des NTlichen Kanons*, ii. p. 18. Lightfoot, *Supernatural Rel.*, p. 206, observes: "Probably, if the notice of St. Mark had not been mutilated, the coincidence would have been found to be still greater." On the other hand, it is quite possible that the lost lines contained fresh matter derived from local knowledge.

⁴ *Adv. Marc.* iv. 5.

writer of Papias's appeal to the Elder; if Carthage believed St. Mark's Gospel to be substantially the work of St. Peter, it was because she had inherited this conviction from the mother Church of Rome.

Alexandria appears to have had an independent tradition upon the subject. In the lost *Hypotyposes*¹ Clement gave an account of the origin of the Second Gospel, which, if not inconsistent with the Elder's statement, places the action of Mark in a new light. Mark, he said, was desired by the Roman hearers of St. Peter's discourses to commit the substance to writing. They pleaded that he had enjoyed peculiar opportunities of knowing what St. Peter taught, since he had long been a personal follower of the Apostle (ὡς ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρρωθεν). Mark assented, and wrote his Gospel; and St. Peter, when the matter came to his knowledge, was at no pains either to prohibit or to forward the work (προτρεπτικῶς μήτε κωλύσαι μήτε προτρέψασθαι).² Clement (or perhaps Eusebius who has preserved his words) attributed this story to "the elders of olden time" (παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων), i.e., probably to his predecessors at Alexandria, Pantænus, and others. But in the form which it assumes in Clement, it can hardly be as early as the statement of the Elder John; ποιεῖν εὐαγγέλιον is a phrase which savours of the second century rather than the first. Moreover, the tale of St. Peter's hearers besieging his interpreter with petitions for a written record of the Apostle's teaching is suspiciously like the account of the origin of St. John's Gospel which follows it; whilst the attitude ascribed to St. Peter in reference to Mark's undertaking is hard to reconcile with the statement of Irenæus, that St. Peter was already dead when the Gospel was

¹ *Ap. Eus. H.E.* vi. 14.

² Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 15) has quite another version of this part of the story: γνόστα δὲ τὸ πραχθῆναι φασὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον . . . ἡσθῆναι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ κυρῶσαι τε τὴν γραφὴν. Cf. Jerome *De Viris Ill.* 8.

published. On the whole it is perhaps unsafe to attach much importance to the details of the Alexandrian story. But its evident independence strengthens the belief that the work of Mark was substantially a report of St. Peter's teaching. On this point Alexandria was at one with Rome and Asia Minor, and these traditions form a threefold cord which is not easily to be broken.

The identification of Mark's Memoirs with the Second Gospel is common to all the early witnesses except the first. John the Elder knew the work simply as a *corpus* of Petrine reminiscences, and the description which he gives, clear and discriminating as it is, does not compel us to regard it as one with the book which a later generation inscribed *κατὰ Μάρκον*. But when Justin¹ quotes words which occur only (so far as we know) in the Gospel according to St. Mark, and adds that they are "written in Peter's Memoirs," it is difficult to resist the impression that he recognises the Second Gospel as the work of Peter's interpreter. In Irenæus the identification is complete;² and if due weight be given to the unique opportunities which Irenæus enjoyed of making himself acquainted with the facts of the case, it is incredible that he should have been deceived in this matter. The book had in his day taken its place in the *τετράμορφον εὐαγγέλιον*, just because it was known to be the work in which the preaching of Peter had been faithfully recorded by his disciple and interpreter.

Later forms of the tradition exaggerate St. Peter's part in the production of the Gospel. Even Origen³ seems to represent the Apostle as having personally controlled the

¹ *Dial.* 106.

² See, e.g., Iren. *Haer.* iii. 10, 6. Irenæus cites Mark i. 1 ff., 24; v. 31, 41, 43; viii. 31, 38; ix. 23, 44; x. 38; xiii. 32; xvi. 19. Thus the whole Gospel, including its present beginning and ending, was known to him as the work of the interpreter of Peter.

³ *Ap. Eus. H.E.* vi. 25 (cf. Jerome, *Ad Hedib.* 2). For a more intelligent estimate of St. Peter's influence over the Second Gospel see the interesting remarks of Eusebius in *Dem. Ev.* iii. 5.

work (ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῷ), and a more liberal use of the imagination enables the authors of the subscriptions which are appended to the Gospel in certain cursive MSS. to attribute it to Peter as its true author.¹ But these extravagances serve only to set off by contrast the reasonableness of the original story as we find it in the testimony of John the Elder.

It is noteworthy that, with the fewest exceptions, early writers connect St. Mark the Evangelist with St. Peter rather than with St. Paul. The single reference in 1 Peter v. 13 seems to have thrown into the shade the entire history of John Mark's connexion with St. Paul which is to be found in the Acts and Pauline Epistles. From Irenæus downwards, Mark is the disciple of St. Peter. It is rare indeed to find his name coupled with St. Paul's in a similar way. Hippolytus once mentions them together in a passage which will come before us presently;² in the Apostolical Constitutions³ St. Matthew is represented as saying: "Let the deacon or presbyter read the Gospels which I, Matthew, and John delivered to you, and those which were received and left to you by Luke and Mark, the fellow labourers of Paul." The writer has been influenced by the Western order of the Gospels, in which Apostolic authors took precedence of the disciples of Apostles; but in connecting St. Mark's Gospel as well as St. Luke's with St. Paul, he stands, so far as I know, alone.

2. A tradition which, if less early, was scarcely less widely spread, credits St. Mark with the foundation of the Alexandrian Church. Eusebius, it is true, speaks with some reserve: ⁴ "They say (φασίν) that Mark was the first

¹ Codd. 293, q^{scr.}, r^{scr.}.

² Hipp. *Haer.* ii. 57. The collocation seems, however, to be due to a strange blunder on the part of Hippolytus, who thinks of Marcion's Gospel as a mutilated Mark, and thus transfers to Mark St. Luke's connexion with St. Paul; see Duncker's note, *ad loc.*

³ ii. 57.

⁴ *H.E.* ii. 16.

who preached the gospel in Egypt, and established churches at Alexandria." Certainly he had cause to hesitate if he associated this tradition with the anachronism which represented St. Mark as first Bishop of Alexandria, who was succeeded by Annianus in the eighth year of Nero.¹ Jerome improves upon Eusebius by assuming that the eighth year of Nero was the date of St. Mark's death.² A less improbable statement in the second book of the Apostolical Constitutions³ makes Annianus the first Bishop of Alexandria, appointed to that see by Mark the Evangelist. Epiphanius contents himself with a reference to St. Mark's mission to Egypt, which he attributes to St. Peter, and places after the writing of the Gospel.⁴ The *Περίοδοι Βαρνάβα*, a work of the third, or, in its present form, of the fourth century, speaks of Mark as setting sail for Egypt immediately after the martyrdom of Barnabas in Cyprus.⁵ On the other hand, the Clementine Homilies represent Barnabas himself as a resident in Egypt, where he upheld the teaching of St. Peter.⁶

It can hardly be doubted that there is a residuum of truth in this mass of impossible and conflicting traditions. They point, on the whole, to a missionary enterprise in Egypt on the part of Mark, the companion of Barnabas and disciple of Peter, which led to the establishment of a Christian society at Alexandria. Even the date assigned for the appointment of Mark's successor is not improbable, if it be taken to indicate the time of the Evangelist's withdrawal from his Egyptian mission. Mark, according to the reckoning of the chroniclers,⁷ arrived at Alexandria c. A.D. 42, and remained in Egypt till A.D. 62. The former of these dates

¹ *H.E.* ii. 24.

² *De Viris Illustr.* 8.

³ vii. 45.

⁴ *Haer.* 51. 6.

⁵ Tisch., *Act. ap. apocr.*, p. 73.

⁶ *Cf. e.g.* 1. 9, 15.

⁷ See Harnack, *Chronologie*, I., pp. 701., 124.

is excluded by the chronology of the Acts; the latter is quite possible, if we place the work of St. Mark in Egypt immediately before his visit to Rome. What more likely than that he proceeded from Cyprus to Alexandria, and left Egypt on receiving tidings of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome? A few years at Alexandria would have sufficed to lay the foundations of a Church, which would thenceforth connect the name of Mark with its origin, and place him at the head of its episcopal succession. The hypothesis helps, moreover, to account for part of the long interval between Mark's departure with Barnabas and his re-appearance in St. Paul's company at Rome.

3. There remains a group of personal traditions, but only one among them deserves serious consideration. When Epiphanius tells¹ us that Mark was one of the seventy-two who were offended at the discourse in the Synagogue of Capernaum, he overlooks the improbability that the son of Mary of Jerusalem would be found among the Galilean followers of Christ, not to insist upon the Elder's distinct testimony that Mark had never been a personal disciple of the Lord. The statement found in the commentaries of Pseudo-Jerome and Bede, and in the preface which precedes the Gospel in most MSS. of the Vulgate,² to the effect that the Evangelist belonged to the tribe of Levi, or was a member of the Jewish priesthood, rests, without doubt, upon the fact of his relationship to the Levite Barnabas. The Paschal Chronicle adjudges to our Evangelist the crown of martyrdom,³ and the details, as they were elaborated in later times, may be seen in the Sarum lections for St. Mark's Day.⁴ But the fact seems to have

¹ *Haer.* 51. 6.

² See Wordsworth and White, p. 171, "Marcus evangelista . . . sacerdotium in Israhel agens, secundum carnem Levita."

³ *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 252. Cf. Niceph. Call., *H.E.*, ii. 43.

⁴ Procter and Wordsworth, *Sanctorale*, col. 262 f.

been unknown to Jerome, who speaks simply of his death and burial at Alexandria.¹

One interesting little reminiscence is preserved of a bodily defect under which St. Mark laboured. According to Hippolytus,² he was "stump-fingered" (κολοβοδάκτυλος). The epithet does not perhaps determine³ the question whether the defect was congenital or due to some accidental cause or self-inflicted; or, again, whether it affected both hands, or all the fingers of one hand, or one finger only. The preface to St. Mark in Cod. Toletanus⁴ seems to espouse the view that it was a natural blemish, which extended to all the fingers: "colobodactylus est nominatus ideo quod a cetera corporis proceritate (cod.—tem) digitos minores habuisset"; according to that which is found in most MSS. of the Vulgate, the Evangelist had, after his conversion, amputated one of his fingers, in order to disqualify himself for the duties of the Jewish priesthood: "amputasse sibi post fidem pollicem dicitur ut sacerdotio reprobis haberetur." An attempt was made by Dr. Tregelles, in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*,⁵ to shew that the word was used by Hippolytus as an equivalent for "deserter," in reference to Mark's departure from Perga; but, though this explanation has been widely accepted, it can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. It is far-fetched at the best, and it seems improbable that so offensive a nickname would have stuck to the Evangelist

¹ *De Viris Illustr.*, 8. It is scarcely worth while to add to this list the blunder of Nicephorus Callisti, Μάρκος ἀδελφιδούς ἦν Πέτρου.

² Hipp. *Haer.*, vii. 30.

³ Κολοβός may be either (1) of stunted growth, or (2) mutilated. In favour of the former meaning may be adduced the compounds κολοβανθής, κολοβοκέρατος, κολοβοτράχηλος; on the other hand, the LXX. words κολοβόκερκος (Lev. xxii. 23, where it is coupled with ὠτότμητος), κολοβόριον (Lev. xxi. 18), point perhaps the other way; cf. 2 Regn. iv. 12, κολοβοῦσιν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν.

⁴ Wordsworth and White, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Vol. for 1855, p. 224 f.

after his reconciliation to St. Paul, especially in Roman circles, where he was known only as St. Paul's faithful minister. There seems to be no reason for setting aside the literal meaning of the word, or for doubting that we have in it a reference to a personal peculiarity which had impressed itself on the memory of the Roman Church. Such a defect, to whatever cause it was due, may have moulded the course of John Mark's life. By closing against him a more ambitious career, it may have turned his thoughts to the various forms of ministry for which he was perhaps naturally fitted. As the colleague of St. Paul and the interpreter of St. Peter, "Mark the stump-fingered" has rendered enduring services to the Church, which, in the absence of such an infirmity, it might never have been his lot to undertake.

H. B. SWETE.

THE FINAL STAGE OF CULTURE.

(REVELATION xxii. 2.)

A TREE in the midst of a street is a beautiful thing. Sometimes it is sad as well as beautiful. I remember, in the days of boyhood, in one of the busiest streets of the most commercial of cities, how there stood in the heart of the thoroughfare the stump of an old tree. One could not look at it without a twinge of pain; it was the last rose of summer. It marked the final trace of a kind of life that was passing away. It told that the country was being expelled by the town. It suggested a state of things that was dead, an age of rustic simplicity which a past generation enjoyed, and which had left behind only the skirt of its garment.

But it is a very different matter when the tree has overtaken the city instead of the city overtaking the tree.

Where you *plant* trees in the midst of a street, you have the beauty without the sadness. And why so? Because the rural element has there changed its place. It is no longer the pursued, but the pursuer. It is no longer the spectacle of expiring country life; it is a marriage between the country and the town. It exhibits to the eye the union of things which are commonly thought of in isolation, and presents to the mind the image of a meeting between the old culture and the new.

Such is the impression conveyed by the picture before us. "In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." The tree of life is here, as I take it, the generic name for an entire *class* of trees. Each bank of the river is said to be studded with trees of this order or species. The effect is that there rises up in the imagination a picture of the meeting of extremes. We have a feeling such as we experience in seeing the old man play with the child, or in witnessing in age the spirit of romantic youth. St. John's ideal of the city of God—the final or Christian stage of civilization, is a paradox. It is something different from all previous ideals. It is a union of extremes. It joins two ends of the string; it unites elements that hitherto had been deemed antagonistic. Let us try to estimate the force of this new conception.

There have been two extreme shades of culture—the garden and the street. The garden is the earlier. It is the child-life of humanity. I have in a previous paper expressed my opinion that the tree of life in the book of Genesis is meant to convey the idea of spontaneous energy. It is life unimpeded, unrestrained, unfettered by the sense of obstacle. It has no fear, no feeling of limit, and therefore no self-consciousness. It is marked by simplicity, or

as we say, rusticity. Because it has no sense of obstacle it is an age of faith; because it has no fear it is an age of outspokenness. It says what it believes, and it believes what is said. It enters thoroughly into the enjoyment of everything; its joy is its strength. It is more allied than any other period to the life of the plant. Its defect is that it is in the garden. It is a purely individual life. It has not awakened to the fact that each man is but the fragment of a vast building. It has not realised the pressure of another life than the personal—the life of the community. It lives by the impulse of the moment; it has not learned that the moment affects the centuries.

At the other remove from the garden, and reached after a series of gradations, is the street. It is the direct opposite. If the former was all spontaneity, this is all convention. If the former was the individual without the community, this is the community without the individual. If the former was the yielding to the impulse of the moment, this is the death of all impulse. We become a part of the community. We cease to have a will of our own. We live by rule—the rule of the street. We do what others do, and because others do it. Custom becomes our conscience, the deviation from custom our reproach of conscience. The spontaneity of the individual life has given place to the fear of being singular; the city has put out the garden.

Now, in the view of St. John, the ultimate stage of culture—the culture of Christ, differs from either of these; and it differs in the direction not of contrast but of amalgamation. It finds in its bosom a place where the discordant elements may unite and rest. The marriage supper of the Lamb, which reconciles so many things, reconciles also the extremes of civilisation—the garden and the street. It gives back the tree of life—the spontaneity of the child's heart, the sense of unrestrained joy. But it plants this


tree of life in a new locality—in the midst of the thoroughfare, in the scene of the old conventionalism. How does it cure this conventionalism? By a thing called love. Instead of making me feel that I am a part of the community, it makes me feel that the community is a part of me. Instead of sinking my individual self in others, it enlarges my individual self to include others. I enter into a fellowship where every one is recognised as more than a brother—as a member of the same body. It becomes possible literally to love my neighbour as myself. There is a worldly conformity which is the result of *unworldliness*. I may see in the streets of the city a phase of thought which I have surmounted, but which was mine yesterday. I put myself in the place of my own yesterday. By the very spontaneity of love, by the very spirit of the garden, I enter into the work of the street, and live in the experience of other lives.

Christian culture, then, in the view of St. John, is a marriage—the union of the garden and the street. Now, every union implies a giving up of something. Each side surrenders an element for the use of the other. Not only is there no exception here, but there is in the passage itself a distinct implication of the special things which each of the parties surrender. We shall consider in the light of St. John's own statement these two things—what the garden gives to the street, and what the street gives to the garden.

And first, he says that the garden has given to the street variety. In the midst of the thoroughfare the tree of life yields a diversity of fruit each month. The garden is naturally more varied in sympathy than the street. In rural life we see human nature in all its forms, unrestrained and luxuriant. In the life of the town these varieties tend to disappear. Men are planed down to a common level, and that which makes the difference between them is more

or less suppressed. But in the marriage supper of the Lamb, in the fellowship which comes from being members of Christ's body, John says it will be very different. The tree of life will here flourish in an environment opposite to the home of its nativity. It will flourish in the street by *transforming* the street—by impregnating the life of the town with its own variedness. Henceforth we shall cease to associate the city with uniformity. It will become what the country is—a place of human nature. It will break forth like rustic life into a multitude of types. It will reveal what the life of the peasantry reveals—the wondrous diversities of the spirit of humanity, the many mouldings of the mind of man, the myriad forms in which the human heart can live and move and have its being.

There is a deep significance in the monthly yielding of the fruit. It suggests that the varieties in the city of God are proved and illustrated by the varieties of type in the character of the twelve Apostles. There is a very remarkable passage in the opening chapter of John's Gospel in which, if I am not mistaken, he has himself given us a clue to the principle on which one apostle's nature was allowed to differ from that of the other. I allude to the words in John i., 16, "of His fulness we all received, and grace for grace." The expression "grace for grace" has puzzled the commentators. I doubt if any phrase would render it exactly into English. But I have no doubt at all that it means and ought to be translated "grace *in contrast to* grace." What he wants to say is this: "Wherever any of us had a bias of the mind toward a particular direction, Christ gave us a bias in the *opposite* direction. The gift which came to each, came to the side on which he was weak. A man was inspired, not in the point where he was already strong, but in the places where he was defective. Every man of our company had to enter the city by a new gate—the gate over against that by which he first came in.



He that entered by the north had to walk toward the south. He that dawned in the east had his setting in the west. He that began on the top of the hill had to end his pilgrimage in the recesses of the valley."

And if this is true to the Greek original, is it not also true to the fact? Take any one of the New Testament leaders. Do we not find that each gets a special gift exactly in the direction opposite to his first endowment? Take John himself. He is by nature a man of fire, of eager haste to realise the goal. What does he become? A man of waiting power, tarrying till the Lord comes—a man who has reached the long-suffering of love, or, as he calls it in the Apocalypse, "the patience of Christ." Take Peter. He is by nature, that is to say, by original grace, the man who sees the crown. His eye, like the eye of the child, rests on the completed triumph, and observes not the cross between. What does he become? Read his first epistle, and what do you see? A man of the cross distinctively, before all things—emphasising the sweet uses of adversity, declaring that the trial of faith is more precious than gold. Or, to name no other, take Paul. He is, by first endowment, the apostle of faith. In the heat of controversy, in the atmosphere of theological strife, he might be in danger of forgetting that faith worketh by love. But with the next month there comes to him a new kind of fruit—the charity for his brother man. It breaks forth in the most glorious of all hymns; it permeates every crevice and corner of his being; it makes him gentler, mellowed, every day. The last state of these men is better than their first.

Here, then, is the answer to the first question—What does the garden give to the street? We come now to the second—What does the street give to the garden? And the answer is, an interest in secular or political life—the healing of the nations. The great defect of the garden is

an absence of this interest. We live among the flowers and the thoughts suggested by them, and we forget that outside men toil and spin, work and weep, struggle and die. The leaves of the garden are all right; but they have not found their function. They are for the healing of the nations; but in the garden there are no nations; there are only individuals. The tree of life has too limited a sphere. To give it an adequate sphere you must plant it in a community. You must bring it into the city, into the haunts of men. You must let it be planted beside rivers of water—places of mercantile traffic, places of communication between land and land. Hitherto, it has been doing less than its destined work; it has been ministering only to the private troubles of the heart. It will reach the cause of its being when it comes to the healing of the nations.

And, let me ask, Is not St. John here again true to the facts? Take any nation that needs healing—needs civilising, as we say. What is that which it requires? Is it not simply the tree of life? Is not its disease just the fact that it has not unimpeded energy, that some part of the vital system is wanting? The excesses of unhealed nations are the result of defects—parts wanting in the framework. It was so even with that Roman world which St. John desired to convert. In some respects it was more civilised than the Christian community; yet there was a branch of the tree of life which it did not possess and without which its development was retarded. But if it were so even in John's day, what shall we say of ours? Civilisation has passed over from the Pagan to the Christian world. The enemies of the cross are no longer the sons of culture. The nations left to us outside of Christ are distinguished by their want of animation. They might be called "*dead* in trespasses and in sin." They are dead—no longer like the Roman world by the absence of a single branch—but by the want of half their sap. India, with all her gropings

after infinitude, has neglected an element at her door—the life of woman. China, with all her boasted antiquity, has not gone back far enough to take up the spontaneity of the child. The Mohammedan nations, with all their claim to possess the Prophet of humanity, have ignored humanity itself—the impulses of the heart. Ours is a far more arduous task than that of the first missionaries. It is no longer mere conversion; it is, along with that, civilisation, culture, the spirit of progress, the rights of man. The tree is defective all round—in root, leaves, and branches; it is “more life and fuller that we want.”

Where shall we find it for our missionary labours? Remember that, though every nation is defective, they are not defective in the same way. The fruit that meets the want of one will not meet the want of another; that is just the reason why, in the process of healing, the seer beholds “all manner of fruits.” What is wanted for these nations is a complete life—a life all round. Each is deprived of some vital centre; the life that shall kindle all must be a universal life. The command to teach all nations is a bold command; it asks the possession of a diversified nature. Buddhism was only victorious over one class of minds; it had but one manner of fruit. The power that would demand a conquest of the world must have fruits for all nations.

And here it is that Christianity finds both its consistency and its strength. For Christianity is the presentation of a complete life—a tree in all its branches. “Ye are complete in Him” is the emphatic utterance in which Paul expresses his sense of Christ’s universal adaptation. In Him every want finds its special supply; *that* is the warrant for a universal mission field. Here the spirit of India will find that which it lacks—the life of womanhood, the feminine qualities of the soul. Here the spirit of China will meet what it has left behind—the freshness of a little

child. Here the savage tribes will encounter a new ideal of manly strength—the power of self-restraint. Here the followers of Mohammed will be stirred by an impulse more potent than the sense of destiny—the throbbings of affection, the instincts of the heart. Here is courage for the over-timid and fear for the over-courageous, a burden for the careless and an absence of care for the burdened, a power that can soften the hard and give hardihood to the soft and effeminate. It is because it is the tree of life—life universal, life all round, life with every manner of fruit at its command, that the religion of Christ is the healer of the nations.

GEORGE MATHESON.

ARE THERE TWO EPISTLES IN 2 CORINTHIANS?

(Continued.)

THE occasion of St. Paul's writing 2 Corinthians i.-ix. was the successful result of the mission of Titus to the Corinthian Church. This is admitted by all. The keynote of these chapters is truly described in the *Speaker's Commentary* as "Comfort in affliction"; the word *παράκλησις* occurring eleven times in these chapters, while it does not appear once in 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. The Apostle does not leave us in doubt as to the cause of this comfort, and of the joy with which he says that he now overflows (2 Cor. vii. 4). It was the coming of Titus, and not his coming only, but the tidings which he brought with him of the repentance and zeal of the Corinthian Church, which had changed his great sorrow into great joy. This keynote of *παράκλησις* is struck in the very beginning of the first chapter, and it is maintained throughout; for whenever for a short interval the writer digresses in order to give counsel or warning, he comes back again quickly to the

subject of his thankfulness and joy, and the completeness of the reconciliation which has been effected; and at the end of the seventh chapter he concludes the subjects which he has been discussing with the words, "I rejoice, therefore, that I have confidence in you in all things."

The two following chapters deal with the question of the collection, and in them the same affectionate and cheerful tone is maintained. The approaching visit seems to be looked forward to with pleasure, the only cause of apprehension being lest, as the Apostle has been praising the Corinthian Church so highly to the Macedonians, they may not in this particular be found to be quite so good as he has depicted them; this apprehension being expressed in language which is affectionate and almost playful. "Lest we (that we say not, ye) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting." He closes these chapters with the ejaculation, "Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift."

Then, after this climax of adoring gratitude, without explanation of any kind, all is suddenly changed, and a torrent of mingled pathos and indignation is poured out, being continued through four chapters till the final farewell and blessing of the last four verses; the cheerful tone of the nine chapters being never resumed for a moment. These four verses indeed express earnest affection, but I cannot agree with Weber that there is in this anything inconsistent with the argument of the four chapters at the close of which they stand; for these four chapters are, after all, the utterances of love, though it be wounded love. We need not, therefore, think it strange if the Apostle, before he closes his letter, allows the expression of his love to predominate in the four verses in which he bids farewell to those who were so dear to him. Even in the severe Epistle to the Galatians the last word before the final amen is "Brothers," ἀδελφοί, and the last sentence is a

blessing. There is, however, at the close of these four chapters no return to the attitude of joy and thankfulness with which chapters i.-ix. both began and ended.

If, seeking for a clue to guide us through these difficulties, we scrutinise the first sentence where this perplexing change of tone makes its appearance, we not only find no reason or explanation furnished by the writer, but are also confronted with the strange fact that the second word of this sentence is the conjunction *δέ*, seeming to connect the sentence with something that has gone before, and that the passage has all the appearance of being the continuation of an argument homogeneous with itself; for, in addition to the fact that it begins with a conjunction, it contains an allusion to an objection which had been brought against the Apostle, and it brings it before us not as if the subject were now for the first time introduced, but as if it had been already mentioned. Furthermore, St. Paul in this opening sentence accosts those to whom his reproaches are addressed simply as "you," without any addition or qualification to show that he is no longer addressing the Church at large, or the repentant majority, but an unrepentant minority, who have dissociated themselves from the submission of their fellow Churchmen.

Prof. Hausrath, to whose treatise, *Der Vier-Capitel-Brief*, I have already referred, puts forward a curious hypothesis about this sentence. According to him the clue is to be found in the word *αὐτός*, which denotes that what follows belongs to the Apostle in a sense in which that which preceded it did not. He conjectures that these four chapters were probably an appendix to an epistle written by the brethren at Ephesus in support of St. Paul, and that the name of Aquila may have been the most prominent in it, as he would be likely to have special influence, having helped to found the Corinthian Church.

Prof. Hausrath might have found in the Epistle to the

Galatians phrases not unlike that which he regards as so significant, especially *Ἰδὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν* in Galatians v. 2, where, instead of pointing a contrast to something preceding it, which had not been said by St. Paul, the expression continues with added emphasis a connected argument. This is the function which, as I think, was discharged by the phrase *αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος*, as it stood in the original manuscript of St. Paul; for my conjecture is that the destruction by some accident of the earlier part of the manuscript has broken off the connection at a point which is now the beginning of the tenth chapter, but which appears to have been originally the middle of an impassioned argument or appeal. *αὐτός* would seem to be used in connection with the taunts to which the Apostle was referring in the discourse of which we have now only the latter portion—"I, the same Paul who am thus depreciated by you."

Klöpffer, in his commentary, quotes Hausrath's surmise with glee, exclaiming triumphantly that the father of the theory of the four-chaptered Epistle has dug its grave with his own hands. Klöpffer is, I think, a little hasty in jumping to the conclusion that the theory which he defends is the only alternative to this conjecture of Hausrath.

It is not so much in the employment of the word *αὐτός* as in that of the conjunction *δέ* that, in my opinion, the true clue is to be found. *δέ*, as Winer teaches, connects while it opposes, whereas *ἀλλά* expresses proper and sharp opposition. *δέ* is indeed frequently used by St. Paul almost as an equivalent to "and." But, at the beginning of 2 Corinthians x. even *ἀλλά* would be utterly inadequate to express the sharpness of the opposition between the contents of that chapter and the ejaculation, "Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift," with which chapter ix. so appropriately concluded.

The startling abruptness of the transition at this point is

to some extent concealed from ordinary readers by the division into chapters; but all commentators have noticed it, and have felt the necessity for some explanation. The explanation generally adopted is that the tidings brought by Titus were not altogether favourable. All who were well disposed had been humbled by the Apostle's rebukes; but his adversaries had been further embittered. The first nine chapters of 2 Corinthians are accordingly supposed to be addressed to the repentant majority, and the four concluding chapters to the rebellious minority.

An objection to this theory which at once suggests itself is to be found in the fact (to which I have already called attention), that in the beginning of the part where St. Paul is supposed to turn to the rebellious minority, he addresses those with whom he is remonstrating simply as "you," as if they were the same persons whom he had been addressing all along. Indeed the only appearance of a distinction which he makes is not between them and a majority better than themselves, but rather between them and a still more rebellious minority. "I beseech you, that I may not, when present, shew courage with the confidence wherewith I count to be bold against some, which count of us as if we walked according to the flesh."

But beside this objection, the description which in 2 Corinthians i.-ix. he gives of the manner in which his letter was received plainly describes a tide of feeling so universal and so strong as to be inconsistent with the existence of such an openly rebellious minority as would be required to account for the language of 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. He speaks of the Corinthians as having received Titus with fear and trembling (2 Cor. xiii. 15); he records how Titus "told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your fervent mind toward me" (2 Cor. vii. 7); and he adds, "For behold this selfsame thing that ye sorrowed after a godly sort, what carefulness it wrought in you, yea, what clear-

ing of yourselves, yea, what indignation, yea, what fear, yea, what vehement desire, yea, what zeal, yea, what revenge! In all things ye have approved yourselves to be clear in the matter." And at the close of the seventh chapter he twice emphatically speaks of the *universality* of this movement of zeal and godly fear. In 2 Corinthians vii. 13 he says, "His spirit was refreshed by you all"—the Greek πάντων ὑμῶν putting the word πάντων in the position of emphasis. Again, in the fifteenth verse, "Whilst he remembereth the obedience of you *all*, how with fear and trembling ye received him." Here, again, the position of emphasis is given to πάντων. Even the chief offender himself was not only overwhelmed by the force of public opinion within the Church, but was also moved to a true repentance, so that the Apostle was satisfied that his case no longer called for punishment, but rather for words of forgiveness and reconciliation. "Sufficient to such a man is this punishment which was inflicted of many. So that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow" (2 Cor. ii. 6, 7).

Professor Klöpper (whose commentary on 2 Corinthians is referred to by eminent English commentators as conclusively establishing its unity), finds himself so hard pressed by some of these passages that he has recourse to a summary method of disposing of these inconvenient statements of the Apostle, by describing them as "idealistic" and "to be taken *cum grano salis*." His adoption of this heroic method of exposition is a tribute to the strength of the proof which St. Paul's language furnishes if we only allow him to speak.

While the description of the repentance of the Corinthian Church given in 2 Corinthians i.-ix. seems to leave no room for an openly rebellious minority, the language of 2

Corinthians x.-xiii. leaves no room for a repentant majority. The rebels are from first to last addressed, not as a section of the Church, but as the Church of Corinth itself. Thus in 2 Corinthians xi. 8 the Apostle says, "I robbed *other* churches," implying by his words that it is a Church that he is addressing; and in 2 Corinthians xii. 13 he says, "In what were ye inferior to other churches?" In 2 Corinthians i.-ix. St. Paul interrupts his exhortations to assure his readers that he does not write to condemn them, and he shows in different places in these chapters a keen anxiety that nothing which he says may revive the painful feelings of the past. If 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. were part of the same letter addressed to an unrepentant minority whose rebellious spirit was in sharp contrast to that of the repentant majority, it is inconceivable that the Apostle should never once from beginning to end of these four chapters have written a single sentence to assure the majority that his reproaches were not intended for them, but only for the rebellious section. Instead of doing this, he again and again uses language the plain meaning of which would seem to include the whole community. For instance, in 2 Corinthians xi. 10, "As the truth of Christ is in me, no man shall stop me of this glorying in the regions of Achaia"; and in 2 Corinthians xiii. 2 he expressly includes all, in language which it seems impossible to mistake, "Being absent, now I write to them, which heretofore have sinned, *and to all other*, that, if I come again, I will not spare." Even if the Apostle had not used the unmistakable words, τοῖς λοιποῖς πάνσιν, the mere fact that he was here referring back to a threat uttered during the visit which he had paid at a time when his relations with the community were evidently greatly strained, and that he now expressly declared that his present warning was a repetition of that threat, would almost

necessarily give to the second threat as wide an application as had been given to the first.

Some commentators of eminence have employed another hypothesis to explain the divergence between 2 Corinthians i.-ix. and 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. They have supposed that when St. Paul had written as far as the end of the ninth chapter fresh news arrived, this time of a distinctly unfavourable character, and that the four chapters which close the Epistle, as we have it, were written in consequence of the receipt of this information.

If this hypothesis be true, and if we are to take 1 Corinthians as indicating by its tone the gravity of the situation when the Apostle wrote with many tears out of much affliction and anguish of heart at the time of the mission of Titus, and 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. as indicating the gravity of the situation which arose in consequence of this new development, then must these later tidings have caused the complete destruction of all the hopes which had been excited by the result of Titus' mission, and showed the state of things at Corinth to be worse than ever. For the tone of 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. is beyond all comparison more sorrowful and more indignant than that of 1 Corinthians. Is it possible that, if news so momentous had arrived, St. Paul should never have mentioned it, never alluded to it in any way? That he should have sent to the rebellious church the praise of them which he had already written, adding on the blame without explanation, joining the blame to the praise by the conjunction *δέ*, and (strangest of all) falling back on a declaration which he had made before the mission of Titus,¹ as if nothing had happened in the meantime? Klöpfer admits that it is surprising (*auffallend*) that the writer should say nothing of any unfavourable news, and should instead go back to the threat which he had uttered during his second visit to Corinth. For "surprising" I

¹ See 2 Corinthians xiii. 2.

would substitute "incredible." The fact that 2 Corinthians xiii. 2 thus goes back to the time of the visit is a strong proof that, when it was written, there could not have intervened any change in the situation of such critical importance as that which had been brought about (as St. Paul shows us in 2 Corinthians i.-ix.) by Titus' mission and by the letter of the Apostle. I am convinced that the true way of escape from this difficulty is to abandon the attempt to assign to 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. a date later than the mission of Titus.

Another way has, however, been suggested by a German theologian named Drescher, writing in the January number of *Studien und Kritiken* this year. Instead of dating 2 Corinthians xiii. 2 before Titus' mission, he seeks to place the visit to which it refers after that mission, and thus assigns to 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. a date later than 2 Corinthians i.-ix. While this view is, of course, opposed to that of Klöpffer with regard to the unity of 2 Corinthians, it agrees with him in what I believe to be a much more important matter; *i.e.*, in holding that Titus made an incorrect diagnosis of the situation at Corinth, and misled St. Paul, so that the first nine chapters of 2 Corinthians were written under the influence of an illusion. He quotes with warm approval Klöpffer's remarks on this point; and gives it as his opinion that St. Paul's choleric temperament was easily carried away by excessive and exaggerated alternations of hope and fear, so that he formed an opinion of the state of things from the report of Titus which he afterwards found to be false when he visited the city in the autumn of the same year. The theory of Titus' mistake and St. Paul's illusion, which is so uncompromisingly put forward by this writer, is also the logical result of the hypothesis of the arrival of fresh news of a contradictory character before the letter was finished. If Titus' account of the repentance of the Corinthian Church, as it is given to us by St. Paul, be

correct, it would be impossible, unless some new subject of dispute had been introduced, that the old causes of bitterness could have so soon revived, and in so acute a form ; and it is the old causes of bitterness, very much intensified, but without any new element added, which we find in 2 Corinthians x.-xiii.

The agreement of Klöpper and Drescher on the subject of the Apostle's supposed illusion arises from the fact that their theories (diverse as they are from some points of view) rest upon a common foundation—*i.e.*, the assumption that 2 Corinthians i.-ix. was written before 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. The measure of the priority assigned to the former chapters may indeed differ, extending to months in Drescher's theory, while it would be limited to weeks or days in the theory of those who hold that the nine chapters and the four were sent to Corinth in the same letter ; but all who hold these theories agree in placing the four chapters last, and consequently in making the history end badly instead of ending well. If the identification of 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. with the Epistle referred to in 2 Corinthians ii. 4 can be established, the foundation of these theories will be taken away.

I have already set before the reader proofs, derived from a comparison of different passages, which, I believe, go a long way towards establishing this identification ; but St. Paul also gives us an opportunity of applying four marks of identification on a larger scale. Of these four there is not one which corresponds perfectly with the characteristics of 1 Corinthians. Three of them correspond with it at best very imperfectly, and one is completely at variance with it ; while each one of the four fits perfectly 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. as the wards of a key fit the lock to which it belongs.

The Apostle gives us one of these means of identification

in 2 Corinthians ii. 4; where he says, "Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears." Emotions so intense disturbing the mind of the writer could not but leave their traces in the Epistle which was written under their influence.

To the note of identification thus furnished I maintain that 1 Corinthians answers very imperfectly indeed. In the fourth verse of the first chapter its author, after his opening salutation, gives utterance to an earnest thanksgiving which is continued for six verses. He goes on afterwards to speak of the party spirit and the grave disorders of the existence of which he has been informed; but in doing this he shows no traces of despondency or anguish of mind, either in utterances expressing these feelings or in the style of the Epistle itself. Dr. Plummer, in an article in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, justly says of its style that it "should possibly be ranked first among St. Paul's writings." He adds, "Possibly no such thought was in his mind; but the letter might convince the fastidious Greeks that in clearness of thought and power of language he was no way inferior to the eloquent Apollos."

When, on the other hand, we turn to 2 Corinthians x.-xiii., not only do we find many passages which we can well believe to have been blotted with tears (as, for instance, 2 Cor. xii. 11, 15, 20, 21); but the style and manner of the whole writing present the very characteristics which we should expect to find in a letter written out of much anguish of heart. No commentator can help feeling something of this. The critic whose words about 1 Corinthians I have just quoted, certainly does not identify 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. as I do, yet he writes thus of 2 Corinthians: "Both narrative and sentences are often involved and broken. There is throughout a want of ease and smoothness. The thoughts in the main as noble as in the earlier letter, are less beautifully expressed. . . . The intensity of the con-

flicting feelings under which it was written have shattered rhythm and arrangement. One feels in every sentence that the writer is speaking straight from his heart, that heart on which Corinth is inscribed."

It is apparent in every paragraph of 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. that the feelings which have shattered its rhythm are the same as those described in 2 Corinthians ii. 4. In fact, in order to exhibit the full force of the proof that this mark of identification is to be found in these chapters, it would be necessary to transcribe the whole of them.

The second note of identification is given in 2 Corinthians vii. 8, 9, where the writer lets us see that his affliction had been caused by the conduct of the Corinthians, and that he had expressed his sense of this so strongly in the Epistle to which he there refers, that, after he had sent it to them, he for a time repented having done so ("Though I did repent," 2 Cor. vii. 8).

Here again 1 Corinthians corresponds very imperfectly; for though in that Epistle the writer speaks of grave faults, this was only what faithfulness required. The blame occupies but a small portion of the letter, which contains also a good deal of praise, and an amount of valuable instruction which far exceeds either. The keynote of 1 Corinthians is, I think, given to us in 1 Corinthians iv. 21: "What will ye? Shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?" Here the form of the question seems to imply the hope that it will be in love that he will be enabled to come.

But in 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. the expressions of displeasure are no longer a small portion of the whole, and they are blended with no praise. The keynote here is: "If I come again, I will not spare." There is only one other epistle of St. Paul (the Epistle to the Galatians) which shows anything approaching the displeasure which is here apparent throughout.

The third mark of identification may be gathered from two passages in 2 Corinthians i.-ix., viz., 2 Corinthians iii. 1, where the question, "Do we begin again to commend ourselves?" seems to imply that the Apostle has been commending himself, but is not going to do so again; and the assurance that this will not be repeated, which is implied here by the form of the question, is more expressly made in 2 Corinthians v. 12, "We commend not ourselves *again* unto you," where the repetition of the word "again" (*πάλιν*) seems to me to show that the writer has done this on some former occasion, but is not going to repeat what had given him so much pain to write.

On what occasion did he do this? In 1 Corinthians there is a certain amount of self-vindication, so that this note might seem to correspond a little better than the two former ones with that Epistle. Still self-commendation is not a very marked feature in it; and the greater part of the self-vindication which it contains is written with reference to the question of the Apostle's refusal to accept payment for his labours amongst them.

But, when we turn to 2 Corinthians x.-xiii., the word *πάλιν* and the references to self-commendation become full of meaning; for he must be indeed a careless reader who has never been struck by this characteristic in these chapters. Indeed the writer again and again calls attention to what he is doing. The word *καυχᾶσθαι* occurs seventeen times in these four chapters.

A comparison of the mode in which the writer employs the words *καύχησις*, *καύχημα*, and *καυχᾶσθαι* in 2 Corinthians i.-ix., with his use of them in 2 Corinthians x.-xiii., reveals a contrast so delicate and so suggestive that I think it alone would convince me that he wrote chapters i.-ix. with recollection of the contents of chapters x.-xiii., and with the conviction that his readers recollected them also. The first time that he employs the word *καύχησις* in 2

Corinthians i.-ix. is in chapter i. 12, and he there uses it with the definite article, and proceeds to explain what it had really meant: "The boasting is this." Then in the fourteenth verse, with a delicate touch, which is peculiarly characteristic of St. Paul, he gives *καύχημα* a new application: "Ye are our boast"; and having given this turn to the word, it is in this way that he employs it and its cognate words henceforth in these chapters. Thus in vii. 4 he writes: "Great is my boasting (*καύχησις*) on your behalf; in vii. 14 he speaks of having boasted of them to Titus, and in the ninth chapter of having boasted of them to the Macedonians. There is only one exception, *i.e.* in 2 Corinthians v. 12, and in that passage he is their boast, as they are his in all the other passages. But he never once reverts to the painful meaning of self-assertion rendered necessary by their depreciation of him; in which sense he so constantly employed the word in 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. I do not think it is possible that this can be merely accidental, but I have never seen it noticed by any commentator; when they allude to the words at all, they speak solely of the number of times that they are used, without taking notice of the remarkable and significant difference of meaning.

These are not the only instances in which the Apostle gives a similar turn in 2 Corinthians i.-ix. to expressions which he had used in 2 Corinthians x.-xii.; thus the *θαῤῥῶ εἰς ὑμᾶς* of x. 1, 2 (confidence against you) is replaced in 2 Corinthians vii. 16 by *θαῤῥῶ ἐν ὑμῖν* (I have confidence in you).

In the same spirit the warning of 2 Corinthians xiii. 10, "I write these things lest being present I should *use sharpness*," when it is referred to in 2 Corinthians ii. 3 is thus gracefully softened, "I wrote this same lest when I came I should *have sorrow*."

I have treated these last points as if I assumed the

priority of chapters x.-xiii. I was obliged to do so in order to bring out their meaning. Taken in this time order these contrasts are full of significance and beauty; but they cannot be read in the reverse order. They are like the valves of the heart which revealed to Harvey the secret of the circulation of the blood by opening in one direction only.

A fourth mark of identification of the Epistle referred to in 2 Corinthians ii. 4 is furnished by 2 Corinthians i. 23 and ii. 1, which show that the Apostle was at the time when he wrote contemplating, and at the same time shrinking from, the payment of a visit which must be of a severe character, and that in the end, out of mercy to them, he did not pay it.

With this remark the references to St. Paul's intentions of visiting Corinth made in 1 Corinthians xvi. do not correspond at all; for he there fixes the time when he purposes to visit them with the sole proviso, "If the Lord will"; and he tells the Corinthians that his reason for not coming sooner was the absorbing nature of the work at Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9); he fixes his visit for the autumn and possibly the winter, so that if this Epistle was written in the same year in which he left Ephesus the visit was not deferred at all. In this chapter he also speaks of abiding with them (1 Cor. xvi. 6), as if the visit was one to which both he and they might look forward to with pleasure.

On the other hand 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. corresponds as perfectly with this note of identification as it does with the three previous ones; for 2 Corinthians xii. 20, 21 and xiii. 1, 2 show that the Apostle was contemplating a visit of the very character which the identification requires; and the last-mentioned verse proves in addition the fact that he was hesitating about it. The words, "If I come again, I will not spare," show that the coming itself was uncertain,

but that there was no uncertainty about the character of the visit if it were paid at the time.

That these notes of identification do not form a key which would fit any lock, may be seen from the fact that there is not one of the eleven remaining epistles of St. Paul which would answer to any one of them, except the Epistle to the Galatians, and that it would not answer to the last-mentioned work.

If these proofs are valid, it follows necessarily that 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. must have been written, not from Macedonia, as was 2 Corinthians i.-ix., but from Ephesus; and this consequence of the theory lays it open either to refutation or confirmation if it be found to contain any descriptive phrase indicating the geographical position of the writer. It does contain such a phrase, and this did not escape the notice of Prof. Hausrath. In 2 Corinthians x. 16 the Apostle speaks of preaching "the gospel even unto the lands on the other side of you," *εἰς τὰ ὑπερέκεινα ὑμῶν*, where the addition of *ὑμῶν* seems intended to define the locality of these lands as being on the other side of Corinth. Now a straight line drawn from Macedonia to Achaia, would, if produced, not touch land till it reached the coast of Africa; whereas a straight line drawn from Ephesus to Corinth would be continued through Italy and Spain, the very lands which, as we learn from the Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul was planning to visit. I feel certain that if it were the received theory which placed the writer of this sentence at Ephesus, the coincidence would have been noticed by every commentator, and it would have been regarded as a fatal objection to any new theory if it necessitated a change which would deprive this phrase of any part of its point and force. A new theory of course requires far more proof than would be thought sufficient for an old one; but it is an indication that we are on the right track when a conclusion to which we have been led

on altogether different grounds, gives to a geographical expression an appropriateness which it has never had for any readers since that day, now more than eighteen hundred years ago, when this Epistle was read for the last time in the original manuscript by some member of the Corinthian Church.

But the theory also necessitates an earlier date for 1 Corinthians than the generally received one, and on this point I think I can show that we have very strong proof in confirmation.

Paley, in his *Horæ Paulinæ*, speaking of the apparent reference in 2 Corinthians xiii. 1 to two visits already paid by St. Paul to Corinth, wrote thus: "I own that I felt myself confounded by this text. It appeared to contradict the opinion which I had been led by a great variety of circumstances to form concerning the date and occasion of this Epistle. At length, however, it occurred to my thoughts to enquire whether the passage did necessarily imply that St. Paul had been at Corinth twice: or whether, when he said, "This is the third time I am coming to you," he might mean only that this was the third time that he was ready, that he was prepared, that he intended to set out on the journey to Corinth." This ingeniously devised explanation found for some time considerable favour, but it is now accepted by few commentators. The reading in 2 Corinthians ii. 1, *μὴ πάλιν ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν*, which is now known to have overwhelming manuscript authority in its favour, is generally allowed to settle the question of a second visit in the affirmative.

But if this visit ἐν λύπῃ came between 1 and 2 Corinthians, 1 Corinthians must have been written earlier than has hitherto been supposed, and a further consequence is that it cannot be the Epistle referred to in 2 Corinthians ii. 4. Accordingly an attempt is now generally made to put it before the time when 1 Corinthians was written. We learn,

however, from Galatians iv. 13 that, when St. Paul had really visited a church twice, and had occasion afterwards to refer to one of those visits, he specified which he meant, speaking in that place of his visit as the earlier one, τὸ πρότερον; whereas in 1 Corinthians ii. 1 he refers to his original visit as if it were the only one he had paid them, καὶ γὰρ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Furthermore, throughout this Epistle everything is dated from this original visit. When he praises the Corinthians, he praises them because they remember him in all things, and hold fast the traditions even as he delivered them to them (1 Cor. xi. 2); and when he blames them, he blames them for their want of progress since his visit: "I fed you with milk, not with meat: for ye were not able to bear it; nay, not even now are ye able." The attempt has been made to explain away this by saying that the visit ἐν λύπῃ was so short that the Apostle here ignores it; but the change which a painful personal meeting between the Apostle and his converts (such as that visit plainly was) would introduce into their mutual relations could not be measured merely by the number of days that it lasted.

But a proof, if possible still stronger, is furnished by the fact that in 1 Corinthians the Apostle expressly states in three several passages that he derived his information, both about their party spirit and their moral disorder, from hearsay evidence. "It hath been signified unto me concerning you, my brethren, by them that are of the household of Chloe, that there are contentions among you." In v. 1 he writes: "It is actually reported that there is fornication among you"; and in xi. 18, "I hear that divisions exist among you, and I partly believe it." Is it conceivable that he could thus speak if he had previously paid them a visit, in which these matters had been discussed between him and them, face to face, so that he spoke of it as a visit ἐν λύπῃ, and if he had then uttered such a threat as that which he refers to in 2 Corinthians xiii. 2?

The conclusion to which we are thus led is confirmed by the fact that in 2 Corinthians viii. 10, and also in 2 Corinthians ix. 2, St. Paul refers to the Corinthian collection as having been ready a year ago; yet the directions given in 1 Corinthians xvi. make it plain that at that time the weekly collections had not yet begun, and the Apostle gives directions about them as about a new thing. In 2 Corinthians ii. he makes it plain that the first news he received of their reception of the letter written ἐκ πολλῆς θλίψεως came from Titus, so that if 1 Corinthians were that Epistle, he could not have learned that they were ready (or were even getting ready) till Titus came, which was certainly not a year before 2 Corinthians was written.

The conclusion which I believe follows from these two lines of proof is that 1 Corinthians was not written in the spring of the year in which St. Paul left Ephesus, but probably in the spring of the year before; that he stayed at Ephesus beyond Pentecost by reason of the greatness of the work, but that he paid a short visit to Corinth (the visit ἐν λύπῃ), and promised or warned them that he would come again, and that when he came again he would not spare.

I believe that this earlier date of 1 Corinthians removes an apparent discrepancy between it and the Acts. In Acts xix. 21 we read that before the riot at Ephesus "Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem," and the purpose thus solemnly made is shown by the subsequent history to have been one in which nothing could shake him. The account of his plans given in the Epistle to the Romans is in perfect harmony with this, for though he speaks of his ardent desire to see them, he makes it plain that he must go to Jerusalem first. But in 1 Corinthians xvi. he twice speaks of his immediate destination (when he shall have left Corinth) as doubtful; as if indeed his first intention

were not to go himself to Jerusalem, but to send letters of introduction with their messengers; though he might possibly go himself, as it were by an after-thought (1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4), and again in xvi. 6 he says: "That ye may set me forward on my journey whithersoever I go," as if it were as yet undetermined. Yet if 1 Corinthians was written at the date usually assigned, and the sending of Timothy there referred to were the same as that mentioned in Acts xix., this was written after his solemn resolution to go to Jerusalem had been made. But when the earlier date for 1 Corinthians is adopted, the chronology falls into its place, and there is harmony instead of contradiction; for it then becomes clear that 1 Corinthians was written before this solemn purpose was formed, and while the Apostle was still uncertain whether he would visit Rome or Jerusalem first.

J. H. KENNEDY.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SECOND PSALM.

THE Second Psalm may be described both as easy and as difficult. Its structure is simple, the four parts into which it is divided are easily distinguished, and it is easy to trace a single chain of thought running through the whole Psalm. The first part (vv. 1-3) describes the rising of the heathen against the Lord's Anointed, the second (vv. 4-6) prophesies the interposition of the Lord on his behalf, the third (vv. 7-9) reveals the Lord's decree that the heathen are to be subject to His Anointed, the fourth (vv. 10-12) warns the heathen to escape wrath by submitting to the decree.

On the other hand this Psalm has been felt to contain important difficulties, and in two places at least (נִלֵּי v. 11, and נִשְׁקוּ בָר v. 12) the text has been declared with some confidence to be corrupt. The existence of these difficulties

and the great interest attaching to the Psalm will perhaps excuse a fresh attempt to interpret it.

It is freely recognised by commentators that the recognition of the fourfold division of this Psalm is one great help to its interpretation. I believe, however, that a second great help, nowhere recognised as far as I know, is to be found in the fourfold occurrence of one key-note in the Psalm, slightly varied in expression in each division. Thus we have

- I. (v. 2) "The [Lord's] Anointed."
- II. (v. 6) "My king." (The Lord is the speaker.)
- III. (v. 7) "My son" (בְּנִי).
- IV. (v. 12) "One who is a Son" (בֶּרֶךְ).

I. In the first division of the Psalm nothing is clearer than that the stress falls on the words, "Against the Lord and against His Anointed." They interrupt the flow of the parallelism and are plainly thrust in as embodying a vigorous protest and as revealing a startling truth; the rebellion is against *the Lord's Anointed*!

- v. 1. "Why are nations assembled together,
"And tribes imagine a vain thing?"
- v. 2. "Why do kings of the earth set themselves,
"And rulers take counsel together?
(*It is against the Lord and against His Anointed!*)
- v. 3. "Saying, Let us break their bands,
"And cast from us their cords!"

II. In the second division the key-note is struck in the words, "My king." The expression is startling when put into the mouth of the Lord Himself; it arrests the attention more than anything else in the division. The deliberation with which it is uttered deepens its impressiveness. For a time Jehovah waits in silence. He "laughs" and "mocks" the enemy, *i.e.* He allows their evil plans to develop and permits them to imagine that they are on the eve of success. *Then* (and not till then) He *speaks*, reveals

Himself in His wrath to their utter discomfiture, and the decisive blow is in the declaration that the sovereign against whom they have rebelled is *Jehovah's king*. No wonder that the apostles applied this Psalm to the death and resurrection of our Lord!

- v. 4. "He that dwelleth in the heavens laugheth,¹
"The Lord mocketh them.
- v. 5. "Then (*i.e.* at last) shall he speak to them in his anger,
"And in his wrath terrify them:
- v. 6. "Saying, Though I myself have set my king
"Upon Zion my holy mount . . . !"²

III. In the third division the psalmist takes up the thought suggested in the second by the expression, "My king," and explains it. The psalmist's king is Jehovah's king because he is Jehovah's son and vicegerent; he is Jehovah's son, having been begotten on the very day of trial. God's deliverance of the king vindicates for him a place not only as God's king but also as God's son. The heathen are given to the king as though to the heir; they are his to break or to spare. The key-note of the third division is, "My son."

- v. 7. "I will tell of a decree:³
"The Lord said unto me,
"My son art thou,
"I this day have begotten thee!
- v. 8. "Ask of me,
"And I will give thee nations for thine inheritance,
"And the ends of the earth for thy possession.
- v. 9. "Thou mayest break (*or* rule) them with a sceptre of iron,
"Thou mayest dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."

IV. In the fourth division of the Psalm we naturally expect that the keynote of the first three will be struck

¹ *i.e.* abstains (for the present) from action; cp. Ps. xxxvii. 13.

² An *apostrophe*; some expression such as "yet ye creatures of earth rebel" is understood, but not expressed.

³ *Lit.* of that which is a *decree* (*i.e.* a declaration raised to the power of a law).

again, and (as before) with some variation in the expression used. Now if we follow the interpretation of the Peshitta, Jerome, Ibn Ezra and the A.V., we are not disappointed. In the last verse of the Psalm—a suitable place for the repetition of the keynote—we meet the words, "Kiss a son," *i.e.* "Make your submission to One who is a Son."¹

The words combined with the contents of *v.* 11 form a strikingly appropriate conclusion to the Psalm. The nations (*v.* 2) had been guilty of a twofold rebellion: *against the Lord and against His Anointed*. In *vv.* 11, 12 they are invited to make a twofold submission: *Serve the Lord with fear . . . make your submission to One who is a Son*.

Surely an interpretation which gives so suitable an ending to the whole Psalm should be accepted, unless it offends either against grammar or against the true sense of the words used. No objection can be raised on the first ground: *נשקו בר* is grammatically correct for "Kiss a Son." On the second ground, however, the objection has been made that it is very unlikely that the same writer would employ the Hebrew word *בני* ("my son") in *v.* 7, and the Aramaising word *בר* ("a son") in *v.* 12. The difficulty is a real one, but surely not fatal, even if we can show no reason for the change of word. Inconsistencies of diction of a similar kind are not unknown in good writers. But I think that a probable reason can be given for the change from the Hebrew *בני* of *v.* 7 to the Aramaising *בר* of *v.* 12. The heathen who rise against the Lord's Anointed are no doubt in the main *Aramæans*; hence the Psalmist in his warning to them changes for greater effect the *בני* ("my Son") which embodies the essence of the decree into the *בר* ("a Son") of their own language.² Coming in the

¹ For the use of an anarthrous substantive compare *v.* 7 ("a decree"). The kiss of homage is mentioned 1 Kings xix. 18, and Hosea xiii. 2.

² Compare the warning in Aramaic to idolaters (Jer. x. 11).

midst of pure Hebrew, it falls, as no doubt it was meant to fall, with a hammer-like stroke.

Still, even if the explanation of the change of word given above be rejected and no other be forthcoming, the interpretation, "Submit yourselves to One who is a Son," remains superior to all rival interpretations hitherto given, for no other interpretation so fitly gathers together the threads at the close of the Psalm.

- v. 10. "And now, O kings, be wise,
"Receive instruction, ye judges of earth !
- v. 11. "Serve Jehovah with fear,
"And rejoice (*i.e.* keep his feasts) ¹ with trembling.
- v. 12. "Kiss one who is a son,
"Lest he be angry,
"And ye perish on your way,
"For otherwise in a little while his wrath will consume [you].
"Blessed are all they who seek refuge in him !"

One word remains to be said. This Psalm is Messianic, whether the translation "Kiss a Son" be retained or not. I do not mean that the Psalm is a literal prediction, *i.e.* a history written beforehand of the humiliation and triumph of our Lord, but that it is a statement of the same eternal principles of Divine activity as those which governed the earthly mission of the Christ. So immutable are those principles, that it is possible to say that an outline of the History of Redemption is indeed shadowed forth in the psalm. The four great characteristics of the crisis therein described reappear in the pages of the Evangelists: the hostility of the world-powers, the silent forbearance of God, His eventual vindication of His earthly representative, and the summons to all to submit to Him. I call the psalm Messianic because it is adapted for showing the Jew of the Apostolic age that, in the broadest sense, Christ came *not to destroy but to fulfil*.

W. E. BARNES.

¹ Cp. Zech. xiv. 16.

THE DRAMA OF CREATION.

(GENESIS i. 1-ii. 3.)

BETWEEN what the Bible says on any subject and what men think it says, there is sometimes a difference as great as the difference between truth and error. Whoever believes that the earth was created, about six thousand years ago, in six days of twenty-four hours each may hold that this is the plain teaching of the book of Genesis ; but men of great ability and undoubted piety refused to accept that view, especially when they were confronted with facts from the crust of the earth, which spoke a different language. Their faith was too strong to allow them to doubt the truth of what they read in Genesis ; their reason was too clear to allow them to deny the facts of Geology. They said : " Both records are true, though we do not see how they are to be reconciled." They resolved to wait. At that very time there was a similar conflict between faith and facts in the region of astronomy. Some scientific men, as Professor James Forbes told his class in Edinburgh University one morning, had their faith in the universality of the law of gravitation shaken by inexplicable perturbations in the motions of the planet Uranus. Of the fact of these perturbations there was no doubt ; it was possible, they thought, that, at the vast distance of Uranus, the law of gravitation might begin to lose its power. But most men said : " Wait ; the explanation will come " ; and it came with the discovery of an unknown and farther-off planet, Neptune. Faith in the universality of the law of gravitation was thus brought into harmony with the fact of the perturbations of Uranus.

Both Dr. Chalmers and Hugh Miller, not to mention other names, believed in the facts of Geology ; they believed as devoutly in the truth of the story in Genesis. They set

themselves to remove the apparent contradiction between them. Hugh Miller, in a lecture on "The Two Records—Mosaic and Geological," did not think himself called on as a geologist to account for more than the third, fifth, and sixth days' work: and "he showed that the works of these three days correspond with the *leading features* of the geological eras." On reading his lecture, I felt that there was something incomplete about his views. I asked myself, How did Moses, or whoever wrote the first chapter of Genesis, come to know about these geological eras? The analogy of the faith at once supplied an answer, which would be accepted as probable, or at least as a reasonable guess. It was that the revelation came in the form of a dream or vision to the man who wrote the story. Working this idea out, it seemed to me to solve several of the difficulties that had gathered round the chapter. Dr. Hanna, the biographer of Chalmers, was so pleased with the manuscript that he recommended it to be printed. A few days before the book (*The Mosaic Record in Harmony with the Geological*) was published, the publishers presented a copy to Hugh Miller. About three weeks after he adopted the view advocated in the book in an article written for the *Witness* newspaper, and afterwards embodied in his *Testimony of the Rocks*.

In the following paper I shall endeavour to complete an idea which I have long felt was then incompletely developed: and, perhaps, I could not put at the head of it a more fitting preface than these words of Sir Thomas Browne in his *Religio Medici*, xlv.: "Some believe there went not a minute to the world's creation; nor shall there go to its destruction; those six days, so punctually described, make not to them one moment, but rather seem to manifest the method and idea of that great work in the intellect of God than the manner how He proceeded in its operation."

SCENE FIRST.

The Triumph of Light over Darkness.

The introduction to the drama of creation (Gen. i. 1) and the first scene (i. 2-5) are sometimes considered separately, but it is not necessary to do this for a right understanding of the piece.

To some minds it may seem strange, if not unbecoming, to speak of dramas in the Bible, or to call them "the word of the Lord."¹ Its sentiments and literary forms may be deemed worthy of another name than the spectacular representations that have been the delight of men for ages. But there is no other name for a writing which enables a reader to gather the movement of a story from the animated conversation of individuals, whom we call the actors. Long before the ancient Greeks or Hindoos put their earliest dramas on the stage, the pure and noble dramatic conceptions of Hebrew writers were current among their people. Though they have come down to us sometimes in a few words, though they may be but the outlines or plots of longer compositions, they stand comparison as pieces of literature with the best that have survived of Greek writings. Some of them are far older than the oldest of Greek dramas, or are at least as old. Among these are the Book of Job, the Song of Songs, the vision of Micaiah, the installation of Isaiah, and the trial of Joshua, the high priest. The drama of Creation may be the oldest of them. It was certainly quoted by the prophet Jeremiah,² perhaps also by Isaiah. In these circumstances it must have been written nearly three thousand years ago at least, but its antiquity may be greater, and probably is.

Whoever pieced into one work the general history and the family records, which compose the book of Genesis, did a wise thing in prefacing it with the drama of creation. How wise a thing it was, and how useful to mankind, we

¹ 1 Kings xxii. 19.

² Jer. iv. 23-25.

shall discover as we proceed. At what time it was written and by whom, are matters of no consequence. There it is, in its beautiful simplicity of thought and language: let it tell its own story. One thing is clear. It stands apart from the rest of Genesis, a preface to that book, or a preface to the whole Bible; as completely distinct from the story of Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden as it is from the story of Joseph in Egypt. It should be printed on a page by itself, instead of being mixed up with the story of Eden, as it unhappily is, and never was intended to be. Mistakes and confusion have resulted, unfortunately, from this mixing up of things wholly different. The drama of creation is one piece; the story of Adam and Eve is another. There is no reason for believing they were written at the same time, or by the same hand, or that the man who put them together in the book now called Genesis was the man by whom they were originally written. With more reason we may inquire if the drama in Genesis i. 1-ii. 3 is an outline or an original whole? Was there more of it when it came fresh from the author's pen, or have we all that he ever wrote on the subject? Judging from the setting of other dramas in the Old Testament, we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that this drama is an outline of a larger piece; and judging from the references to the creation in Job¹ and in Proverbs,² it would be a pleasure to think that parts of its sublime poetry have been preserved in these two books.

The first chapter of the Book of Genesis, then, is a drama produced in the ancient world, and causing surprise in modern days by its beauty of finish and its singular picture of the creation of all things. It looks so like a challenge to modern science that its statements have been viewed in that light: the gage of battle, which it is supposed to have thrown down, has been repeatedly taken up, and combats, as unreal as any fabled in ghostly romance, have been

¹ Job. xxxviii. 4-16.

² Prov. viii. 22-31.

fought to no purpose. This drama is not a challenge to modern science. With all truth it may be called a challenge to the science accepted by the ancient world, or a protest against the danger and folly of astrology, the worship of the heavenly bodies, the absurdities of the transmigration of souls. In this sense it is a challenge or protest, a lofty challenge on behalf of man, crushed under the superstitions and absurdities of priests and philosophers. And it is a challenge, not in the terms known to the champions who figured in tournaments centuries ago, but in the terms common to prophets and heroes of Bible history three or four millenniums before our day. That ancient form of challenge was by parable, or vision, or drama, or by all three fused into one. Such is the form of the challenge to the science of the ancient world in this preface to the Bible.

On the sublimity of one of its passages at least we have the testimony of a well-known Greek writer, Longinus, who flourished more than sixteen centuries ago. In his book *On the Sublime* he quotes the verse, "God said, Let there be light, and there was light," as a surpassing example of sublimity of thought and diction. Longinus was a heathen; he was not hampered by views of the Bible that carried the world away after his time; he looked on it as a book, a sacred book perhaps, which superstitious people in other lands might regard with awe, but which he was free to handle and speak of as he would the poems of Homer or the plays of Æschylus in Greek literature. His judgment on the sublimity of the passage is the calm judgment of an able and unbiassed critic, and ought to carry conviction to every reader.

The first chapter of Genesis is thus more than a drama; it is a sublime drama of creation. To refuse to call it a drama is to shut one's eyes to facts, for it is full of action throughout, and the speeches, uttered or reported, which accompany the action are clear and distinctly marked off

from the action. There is also a speaker or actor, and there is besides an audience to whom the speaker addresses himself, "Let us make man in our image." The time during which the action proceeds is seven dramatic or scenic days, each day witnessing a change of scene, and an increasing intensity of the action. A march of events more stately and more inspiring never passed across the stage of any theatre on earth. There is no hurry, nor is there any useless delay. The simplicity of the drama and the brevity of it, considering, as we ought, that it is crowded with colour, with motion, with life, with figures, is amazing. You would be justified in saying that the genius, which crowded all these details into a piece containing only four hundred and sixty-seven words, must have been divine. We speak of a true poet as inspired. There is the loftiest poetry and the noblest inspiration in this drama of creation. No one, with an eye for beauty and the orderly march of a plot, can imagine it to have been borrowed from other sources than the marvellous brain of its unknown author. There is nothing like it in literature, and there is nothing so grand. Brief as the drama is, it is divided into seven well-marked scenes or acts, the first of 52 words (i. 1-5), the second of 38 (i. 6-8), the third of 68 (i. 9-13), the fourth of 69 (i. 14-19), the fifth of 57 (i. 20-23), the sixth, the most important of them all, of 148 words (i. 24-31), and the seventh of 35 (ii. 1-3). The stage on which the drama is transacted is, like the plot, grand in its simplicity and vastness: the stage is the world of things in its whole extent, the world of life and of men.

This Hebrew drama is a record of battle between hostile powers animated with a deadly hatred to each other. On the one hand are the allied powers of darkness and death; on the other the allied powers of light and life. Concealed beneath the banners of each pair of allies is a third power, whose presence is more distinctly revealed as the story of

life proceeds. In league with darkness and death is seen, at first in the background, the malignant spirit of hatred ; while in league with light and life is seen irradiating the whole field of action, and making its gracious presence felt in every nook and cranny, the spirit of love. What has been felt throughout the whole course of life, what is felt to this day, is brought out as distinctly in this short drama of creation as in all the books that have been written, and all the speeches that have been made in the onward march of time. This drama of creation is worthy, and is alone worthy, to stand as a fitting preface to the history of life and literature on earth. While it makes no claim to this place of honour, there can be no doubt in a reader's mind that it is worthy of the place that it fills, and that it ought to fill it. There is no competitor with it for the place, there is no rival. Compared with it Babylonian legends and Greek world-makings are child's play, the dimmest shadows at the best of the majestic march of this drama of four hundred and sixty-seven Hebrew words. It begins with a brief but distinct picture of the stage on which the first act is to be played. The heavens and earth are made ; an ocean is rolling before the spectator, but he sees nothing, for "darkness was upon the face of the deep." Darkness held the whole field. Chaos and death were in undisturbed possession. But there is a movement heard on the dreary, darkened stage. "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." What was it ?

A voice is heard sounding its summons over the dark waste, for so the drama represents the scene to suit the feebleness of man's mental powers. The voice is that of the Prince of Life, summoning the armies of light to the battle with darkness. The battle began with the order, "God said, Let there be light, and there was light." Long triumphant darkness was beaten back from the waters of chaos ; light was streaming on the scene, and revealing to

the audience the reality of the battle and the change in the aspect of affairs. Let us think of it what we please, but no one can conceal from himself that this first triumph of light was a most fitting introduction or preface to the many triumphs light was destined to achieve. If the Bible is anything uncommon, the most uncommon thing about it as a piece of literature is that, what the preface to it says, is found true in every book it contains through the many centuries during which these books were written. "Let there be light" is the keynote to this sublime drama of creation. Light, more light, and yet more light is the cry raised by its many writers and heroes all down the ages, till the whole concludes in that gorgeous picture of the lighted city, where they have no need of sun or moon, because the Lord God is the light thereof, and where darkness is unknown; "there shall be no night there." The bond that unites all these books, from the opening of this sacred drama in Genesis to the close of the history in the end of the Book of the Revelation, is the triumph of light. The light is called day; the darkness is called night; but it is everywhere recognised that day and night have a narrower or a far wider meaning than the twenty-four hour changes to which they are confined in common speech. It is enough to note that, at the very beginning, light enters on its long struggle with darkness, and that the keynote which is thus struck is sounded by poets, by prophets, by apostles, by heroes all down the ages—a sweet refrain that binds together their writings with a common purpose, and in a common faith. Could this be an accident in the literary history of a nation, or is it a purpose of Him who said, Let there be light, and there was light?

No reader of the Bible requires to have it proved for him that the triumph of light is the note that breathes most fully and most sweetly in all its varied music. "In thy light shall we see light," "Send out Thy light and Thy

truth," "Unto the upright ariseth light in the darkness," were the song and the prayer of Hebrew poets. "I will give Thee for a light to the Gentiles," "The Lord shall be thine everlasting light," "When I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me," were the bursts of gladness that cheered the prophets amid the growing darkness of the age. Even the half-sneering, half-sorrowful writer of the book of Ecclesiastes finds the theme pleasant, "I saw that wisdom excelleth folly, as far as light excelleth darkness"—words which one cannot compare with those of the drama in Genesis, "God saw that the light was good," without coming to the conclusion that the former are an amplified echo of the latter. Evangelists and Apostles revel, so to speak, in the growing brightness and ultimate triumphs of light. "Ye are the light of the world," "The true light that coming into the world lighteth every man," "Walk as children of light," "Every good and every perfect gift cometh down from the Father of lights," are sublime echoes of the first divine summons to battle, "Let there be light, and there was light."

It has been often remarked that light is summoned into being in the first scene of the drama, while the sun is not called on to appear till the fourth. A defiance to the common belief of mankind so singular, rung out at the very beginning of the drama, stamps it as either singularly foolish in the writer, or singularly knowing. Modern science proves that this placing of light previous to the appearance of the sun, this antedating of light, so to speak, is not singularly foolish, but is entirely in accordance with facts. What the real meaning of this antedating may be, we do not know, and need not attempt to guess; that it is agreeable to nature we are well assured, for light is not an existence dependent on the sun, but probably flashed its sweetness athwart space ages, millions of ages, before the sun shone in our heavens. Light is not the servant and

light, Day; and the darkness, Night. The names were bestowed before men appeared on the stage, and before man's language was known on earth. It is certainly not meant by this naming of things that the words were known and in use before man's birth, but the meaning clearly is that, what God enables and encourages man to do—for speech and naming are the gift of God—by a well understood rule God is said to do Himself.

JAMES SIME.

(To be concluded.)

NOTE ON ACTS XVI. 12.

As Dr. Hort's alteration of the text is regarded not without favour by Dr. Zahn in his recent *Einleitung in das Neue Test.* p. 375, a work whose value and well-deserved influence imparts great weight to any opinion expressed in it, the reasons against tampering with the text should be strengthened. Hort objected to the text *πρώτη τῆς μερίδος* on the ground that *μερίς* "never denotes a region or any geographical division." It is pointed out in my *Church in Rom. Emp.*, p. 158, that this is incorrect. To the Egyptian example there given of *μερίς* as subdivision of a large district or province, it may be added that *μερίς* is used to indicate a geographical subdivision in Syria (*Strabo*, p. 749), in Asia Minor (*id.*, p. 560), and in Gaul (*id.*, p. 191); that sense is therefore peculiarly appropriate to *μερίς*, and its use in *Acts* is unimpeachable. The meaning in the verse quoted must be taken, on the analogy of the other cases, as "first of a subdivision of Macedonia"; and the correctness of that description, and its real character, are sufficiently shown elsewhere (*St. Paul the Trav.*, p. 207). On the other hand, the Bezan text, which substitutes *κεφαλὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας*, is in every respect bad, both being incorrect in fact, and losing the appropriateness of the terms *πρώτη* and *μερίς*. Zahn cannot be justified in practically following the Bezan sense when he interprets "a first city of the province Macedonia."

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED SAYINGS OF
JESUS. BY PROFESSOR ADOLF HARNACK,
BERLIN.

(Authorised Translation.)

I.

FOR the third time in the last twelve years we have received from Egypt new fragments of the oldest evangelic literature. In 1885 Bickell published a Papyrus-fragment of great antiquity, contained in the Archduke Rainer's collection of Papyri (*Innsbrucker Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1885, iii. pp. 498-504; compare *Mittheil. aus der Sammlung der Pap. Erz. Rainer 1 Jahrg.* Nos. 3 and 4, 1887, and A. Harnack in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, v. 4, 1889, pp. 481-497). The little fragment (3.5 × 4.3 centimetres) corresponds with Mark 14. 26-30, but presents a shorter and probably more original form. In 1892 we were surprised by the discovery of a considerable fragment of the Gospel of Peter, given to us by Bouriant (*Mémoires publiées par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, vol. ix., fasc. 1; cf. *Texte und Untersuchungen*, ix. 2, 1893). The narrative of the Passion and Resurrection is here presented in an independent, though secondary, form. Now Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt have discovered a Papyrus-leaf written on both sides (in the form of a codex, not a roll, 15 × 9 centimetres), which contains sayings of Jesus. It was found among a large number of Papyri which they discovered on the site where the capital of the Oxyrhynchite deme once stood. They date

the fragment, on palæographic and other grounds, between 150 and 300 A.D., and are inclined to ascribe it more exactly to a date soon after 200. They have published it in a most satisfactory form (together with a *facsimile*), and done everything which can possibly be expected in an *editio princeps*. In preparing their edition they have consulted Messrs. Conybeare, Harris, James, and Turner, whose names are a guarantee that nothing has been omitted to give the best and soundest conception of the precious discovery. If I venture to write about the fragment, instead of merely drawing attention to their work, it is not in order to controvert the position of the editors or to improve upon their readings. They have said nothing that could be open to attack, and only in regard to one of the Sayings am I in a position to advance beyond their readings. But it is because I believe that one hypothesis which they have advanced amongst others regarding the character and source of the fragment can be much more definitely formulated than has been done by them, and because I am able to add certain observations which the editors have left for their successors to make.

FIRST SAYING.

. . . . καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

This agrees word for word with the text of Luke 6. 42; only the recent editors, following their preference for B, have put ἐκβαλεῖν at the end, whereas all other Uncials, and also the Coptic version, show the word where we find it in the Papyrus. In Matthew 7. 5 the reading is somewhat different: καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. No other variations are known in this comprehensive saying, only the closing phrase of which is extant in the Papyrus.

SECOND SAYING.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον, οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα.

The previous Saying presents no deviation from the Synoptic tradition, or at least from the Lucan form of it. This Saying, however, is quite new. And yet there is nothing unfamiliar either in its form or in some of its phrases; rather does it display relations with the Synoptic tradition, and possibly with the Fourth Gospel. Sentences commencing with *ἐὰν* and *ἐὰν μὴ*, introducing conditions of salvation, are found not very rarely in the Synoptics (cf. Matt. 18. 3; Mark 10. 15; Luke 18. 17; Matt. 16. 26; Mark 8. 36; Luke 17. 33). The central position which they ascribe to the *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* does not require any citation in proof of it. And even the expression *εὕρεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*, although it does not appear in the Synoptics, corresponds with the other phrase, *ζητεῖτε τὴν βασιλείαν* (Luke 12. 31 and Matt. 6. 33). The closing phrase, *οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα*, sounds Johannine. It is true Matthew reports Jesus as saying *αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται*, and the Synoptic character of the expression cannot be absolutely denied. But in *τὸν πατέρα* it reminds us rather of John, although it is hardly borrowed from him, and might stand just as well in either Matthew or Luke (cf. Matt. 11. 25-27).

But the point of this word of the Lord does not lie in the portions just referred to. It should be translated thus: "Unless ye fast in regard to the world, ye shall not find the Kingdom of God, and unless ye keep the Sabbath in the way answering to the Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father." The irregular expression *νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον* is certainly not to be corrected (as *e.g.* *νηκήσητε* = *νικήσητε*). For *σαββατίσητε* covers *νηστεύσητε*, and *βασιλεία* covers

κόσμος. It follows at once, however, that it is not *ritual* fasting that can be meant, nor fasting at all in the proper sense of the word, as it was practised by the old Jewish and Gentile Christians (*vid.* Didaché, Hermas, Justin, Tertullian, etc.).¹ But the expression is to be understood allegorically. "Fasting in regard to the world" can only mean "separating oneself wholly from the world," and this significance is made perfectly clear by the following sentence, which contrasts the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ with κόσμος. If, however, νηστεύειν is not to be understood in a ritual sense, but as ἀποτάσσεσθαι, it follows from the parallelism that σαββατίζειν τὸ σάββατον also signifies something else than the precisian Jewish Sabbath-keeping (as in LXX.). What it does signify follows from its standing as a positive complement to νηστεύειν τὸν κόσμον, and from the vision of the Father being promised as its result. Hence it can only describe the complete sanctification of a man's life in God.

Neither the contents nor the form of the second sentence is unfamiliar to post-Apostolic literature; and the same may be said, as regards contents, in reference to the sharp contrast drawn between κόσμος and βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ in the first sentence. *Hermas*, *Sim.* I., is a paraphrase of the first half of this saying of the Lord, and puts this world and the Kingdom of God in the sharpest contrast (cf. moreover the second Epistle of Clement).² But the passage before us is not essentially more severe in its cast than Luke 14. 33: οὕτως οὖν πᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὃς οὐκ ἀποτασσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής. Still there does lie a certain distinction in the general expression τὸν κόσμον. Like ὀψεσθε τὸν πατέρα, it sounds

¹ Nevertheless, *Barnabas* 3, *Hermas*, *Sim.* V., and other passages, show how they wished to see even this fasting spiritualised and receiving an ethical turn in the service of man.

² *E.g.*, c. 6, 3 ff.

Johannine. For only in the Fourth Gospel is ὁ κόσμος an expression for all that which is, and ought to remain, unfamiliar to the Christian.¹ The editors are right, however, in comparing also *Pistis Sophia* (p. 138, Schwartz's translation), where this is reported as a word of Christ: ("Dixi vobis olim): ἀποτάσσετε κόσμῳ toti et ὕλῃ toti." For the use of νηστεύειν for ἀποτάσσεσθαι (? a variation in translation) I am not able to produce a parallel. At a very much later period "jejunare" is used in the Church for all acts of penance, but that cannot apply here. No more can it mean here what it means in Matthew 9. 15 (Luke 5. 33 ff.; Mark 2. 18 ff.), namely, "mourning." But the use of the word (though it cannot be paralleled) is neither incomprehensible nor far-fetched.

But, as regards the use of σαββατίσῃτε τὸ σάββατον in a metaphorical sense, reference may be made to Hebrews 4., Barnabas 15., and to many passages in the Dialogue of Justin with Trypho. From these passages it is clear that "Sabbath" was used in the early Christian Church in a double metaphorical sense. And yet both significations are mutually connected. In the first place, "Sabbath" is the symbol of the future time of rest and joy for the people of God. Thus it is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews (4. 9), ἄρα ἀπολείπεται σαββατισμὸς τῷ λαῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, and Barnabas writes in his fifteenth chapter (on Gen. 2. 2), καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ. τοῦτο λέγει· ὅταν ἔλθῳ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταργήσει τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνόμου καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀλλάξει τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, τότε καλῶς καταπαύσεται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ. But it is not with this signification that he begins his great discussion on the Christian comprehension of the Sabbath in c. 15. Rather does he set in the forefront the verse out of Exodus: ἀγιάσατε τὸ σάββατον κυρίου χερσὶν καθαραῖς καὶ καρδίᾳ καθαρᾷ, as well as the other in Jeremiah 17. 24 f.:

¹ Cf. 1 John 2. 15, μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε τὸν κόσμον μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.

ἐὰν φυλάξωμεν οἱ υἱοὶ μὴ τὸ σάββατον, τότε ἐπιθήσω τὸ ἑλεός μου ἐπ' αὐτούς. He turns attention from the *day* to the *manner* of Sabbath-keeping, and regards the right manner of celebration as the essential point of the matter, which depends on no particular day. Then for the first time he introduces the Sabbath of the millennial kingdom, and connects the two references by this thought:—true Sabbath-keeping always consists in pure hearts and pure hands, but we shall not be able perfectly to keep the Sabbath until we do so in the future Kingdom of Christ (εἰ οὖν ἦν ὁ θεὸς ἡμέραν ἡγίασεν, νῦν τις δύναται ἀγιάσαι εἰ μὴ καθαρὸς ὢν τῇ καρδίᾳ, ἐν πᾶσιν πεπλανήμεθα. ἴδε οὖν ἄρα τότε καλῶς καταπαυόμενοι ἀγιάσομεν αὐτήν, ὅτε δυνησόμεθα αὐτοὶ δικαιοθέντες καὶ ἀπολαβόντες τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, μηκέτι οὔσης τῆς ἀνομίας, καὶ νῦν δὲ ἡγεγονότων πάντων ὑπὸ κυρίου τότε δυνησόμεθα αὐτήν ἀγιάσαι, αὐτοὶ ἀγιασθέντες πρῶτον. That Sabbath-keeping, in so far as it is possible in the present, consists in the purity of the heart, etc., is clearly asserted by Justin, who also uses the expression *σαββατίζειν τὸ σάββατον*. In *Dial.* 12 he says: *Σαββατίζειν ὑμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διὰ παντὸς ἐθέλει, καὶ ὑμεῖς μίαν ἀργοῦντες ἡμέραν εὐσεβεῖν δοκεῖτε, μὴ νοοῦντες διὰ τὸ ὑμῖν προτετάγη . . . εἴ τις ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπίορκος ἢ κλέπτῃς παυσάσθω· εἴ τις μοιχός, μετανοησάτω, καὶ σεσαββάτικε τὰ τρυφερά καὶ ἀληθινὰ σάββατα τοῦ θεοῦ* (cf. c. 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27). Hence there can be no doubt concerning the sense of this passage. Here also *σαββατίζειν τὸ σάββατον* signifies to sanctify life in the service of God and according to His law.

It may therefore be maintained that the two main thoughts of this Saying are neither singular in early Christian literature, nor alien to the contents of the Gospels. It is another question whether its form is, strictly speaking, of the type found in the Synoptic Gospels, and we cannot answer this question in the affirmative. As the Synoptic tradition proves, Jesus stood so entirely in touch with His

people and with the Jewish worship, that it is hard for any one to be convinced that He ever used the technical terms *νηστεύειν* and *σαββατίζειν* simply in a metaphorical sense. It is true of course that He declared in what sense and with what disposition His disciples ought to fast and to keep the Sabbath; but He is always referring to *actual* fasting and the *actual* Sabbath. It is true He said that His disciples ought to leave their goods and their relations; but from a precept such as this it is a distinct step to an injunction "to fast in regard to the world."

Whether we may recognise in this commandment a rhetorical element which is not entirely absent from the antithesis of *νηστεύειν* and *σαββατίζειν*, or whether we find in it an element of essential principle, in either case it brings with it a note which we never or almost never hear in the Synoptic narratives. It is true this is a question of a mere shade of expression, and this Saying is far enough removed from the strong rhetoric which finds utterance in a sermon of Valentinus (in Clement, *Strom.*, IV. 13. 89):
 ὅταν γὰρ τὸν μὲν κόσμον λύητε, αὐτοὶ δὲ μὴ καταλύσθε, κυριεύετε τῆς κτίσεως καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπάσης. But even though we must admit that Jesus may perhaps have spoken on one occasion as this Saying reports, still the more probable conclusion is that the Saying has received some extraneous colouring characteristic of the post-Apostolic period.

THIRD SAYING.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἐ[σ]την ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἐν σαρκί (corrected by first hand from *σαρκεί*) ὥφθην αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὔρον πάντας μεθύοντας καὶ οὐδένα εὔρον διψῶντα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πονεῖ ἡ ψύχη μου ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῷ[ν] καὶ) . . β . ε . .

This saying also is wholly new, and the Gospels acquaint us only with the complaint of Jesus concerning the blind-

ness of men (Matt. 15. 14 f. ; 23. 16-36 ; John 9. 39 ff.). Leaving aside for a moment the very remarkable introduction and the three Aorists, we have a simple and attractive saying, which readily ranges itself with the evangelic sayings of Jesus. Deep distress is lying upon His spirit. But no one will be surprised at such distress who recalls Luke 19. 41 (*καὶ ὡς ἤγγισεν ἰδὼν τὴν πόλιν ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτήν*), or Matthew 23. 37 (Luke 13. 34, *ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυνάξαι κτλ.*), or the passages Matthew 26. 37, Mark 14. 34 (*περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου*), and John 12. 27 (*νῦν ἡ ψυχὴ μου τετάρακται*). Notice *ἡ ψυχὴ μου*. Jesus spoke elsewhere also of His soul. Further, in two apocryphal sayings of Jesus this distress finds expression, although in another reference : *Act. Petr. Vercell.*, 10 : "Qui mecum sunt non me intellexerunt" ; and the Marcosians in Irenæus, I. 20. 2 : *πολλάκις ἐπεθύμησα ἀκούσαι ἓνα τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ οὐκ ἔσχον τὸν ἐροῦντα*.¹ The expression *πονεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου* is probably derived from Isaiah 53. 10, *πονεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου*, and cannot strike us as strange from the lips of Jesus. With *πονεῖν ἐπὶ* (a Hebraising construction) compare Mark 3. 5, *συνλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ παρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν*, and other passages in the Synoptics (*σπλαγχνίζεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*). The expression *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* occurs, if I am not mistaken, only once in the Synoptics (Mark 3. 23),² and proves once more the Hebrew colouring of the fragment. To this also we may ascribe *εὕρισκειν*, which occurs twice in this Saying, and also in 2 and 4. Compare also the Apocryphal saying of the Lord, for which there is very early authority : *ἐφ' οἷς ἂν εὕρω ὑμᾶς, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ*.

The point of the Saying is a double one, the sad utterance concerning the unreceptivity of men, and the testi-

¹ Nevertheless Westcott's conjecture of *ἐπεθύμησαν* here is well worthy of attention ; though indeed the Latin also reads "concupivi."

² Cf. Eph. 3. 5.

mony of Himself to His painful labour of soul on their behalf. The picture under which the want of receptivity is presented is known to the Gospels, although not in the pregnant form "I found them all drunken."¹ The Sermon on the Mount speaks of "hungering and thirsting after righteousness"; but only John uses the absolute διψᾶν which we find here (John 14. 13-15; 6. 35; especially 7. 37, εἰάν τις διψᾷ ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω). This gives a further connection between these Sayings and the characteristic manner of the Fourth Gospel. It is not altogether without surprise that we read πάντας, and recall the sharp expression of the second Saying: νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον. Moreover it is not Johannine (cf. c. 1. 12, ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν, and yet c. 1. 10, ὁ κόσμος οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτόν), but still it can be understood *cum grano salis*, as in Matthew 23. 27, the general statement καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε; indeed it probably must be so understood, for otherwise the second half of the sentence would be incomprehensible. In the latter there is nothing which does not correspond with the Synoptic speeches of Jesus. We may gratefully accept the beautiful expression of Jesus' labour of soul (pain) continuing in spite of the want of receptivity in His hearers.

But the Logion has an introduction besides. In this there is as much to surprise as there is little in the Saying proper. "I placed myself (stepped, stood) in the midst of the world, and in the flesh I appeared to them, and I found them," etc. At the first glance one is inclined to think (as the editors recognise) of some speech of Jesus which He delivered to His disciples after His Resurrection. Of so-called Gospels in which Jesus speaks when returned to life, we know quite enough. But on closer examination we are compelled to abandon this suggestion. The transition to the present tense πορεύει, in other words the declara-

¹ We may compare μεθύοντες in Matthew 24. 49, and passages in the Old Testament, but not the drunkards in the Apocalypse.

tion that His soul (now, still) labours (suffers) for mankind, is incomprehensible if it is to be the risen Jesus who is speaking. It shows that in these words we must recognise a backward glance upon His work on the part of the still living not the risen Christ. The thought with which it is introduced answers to the belief of Paul, of John, and of 1 Timothy 3. 16. Every one will be reminded of this passage: *ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ*, and of John 1. 10, 11, 14. But that this confession of faith should be put in the mouth of Jesus, and at the same time in a strongly rhetorical form (*ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου*), goes considerably beyond the old Gospels. John at any rate did not venture to put in the mouth of Jesus, so definitely as this, that which he prefixed to his Gospel in the Prologue. In the Gospel Jesus speaks of His pre-existence in allusions. Here, however, Jesus speaks as a Divine Being. The Gospel out of which this Saying is taken must really have been a Logos-Gospel, whether the word Logos appeared in it or not. That is to say, it must have been a Gospel to which the characteristic type of John's Gospel must have been related as the immediately preceding stage. Hitherto we have possessed not a single fragment of a Gospel in which a strong and comparatively pure Synoptic tradition is seen combined with Pauline-Johannine theology in the form of *evangelic* utterances. We could at the very most surmise the existence of such Gospels. What we possessed consisted (besides our four Gospels, the Gospel of the Hebrews, and the Gospel of Peter) of Gnostic-theological Gospels or late apocryphal ones, which could have no bearing on the original evangelic tradition. Now we learn (I pass over the remains of the Gospel of the Egyptians, for I shall deal with it below)—we learn by a *single saying* the existence of a Gospel¹ which

¹ That this Saying can be no isolated saying, but must belong to a whole, appears to me obvious.

teaches us that the line, which leads from the Synoptics to John, was carried still further. But the relation so conceived and defined would not be sufficient. The Sayings, which we have already examined, and those which we have yet to examine, show that they proceed from a source which in form and contents stands much closer to the Synoptics than the fourth Gospel does. Thus we have not to assume a direct succession—Synoptics, John, our Gospel—but a dual development. The Johannine Gospel has emancipated itself from the old tradition far more than the Gospel from which our Sayings are derived. But inasmuch as it does not present Christ describing Himself directly as a Divine Being, who has appeared in the flesh, it remains historically more accurate in regard to the decisive and chief question. And also that ominous expression, "I stood in the midst of the world," which reminds us of the Egyptian Gnostic Gospels, and may well be regarded as a root of subsequent extravagances—one looks for it in vain in the Fourth Gospel.

How much of the history of theology, how much whose issues are still far from cleared up, lies in this single Logion! In the same breath Jesus all but describes Himself as the supra-mundane Being manifested in the flesh, and yet speaks as He does in the Synoptics of the *πνεῦν*, the weary labour, of His soul.

Unfortunately, the conclusion of the Logion is illegible. The editors think that it came to an end after a few more letters, that a new Logion (the fourth) began on the next line (which is, however, quite destroyed), and extended to the first line of the second page, where [τ]ὴν *πτῶξιν* can still be read. Since the latter word is not found in our Gospels, they assume that it was a hitherto unknown Saying. But all these assumptions are very insecure. (1) It is quite uncertain whether a line is missing. (2) The third Saying is certainly not terminated. It is most natural to

complete line 21, καὶ οὐ βλέπο: then υσιν (= βλέπουσιν) would fall on the first line of the next page, and it would be suitably completed if we were to insert εἰς before τὴν πτωχείαν.¹ Here we may recall Revelation 3. 17: σὺ εἶ ὁ ταλαίπωρος καὶ ἔλεινός καὶ πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλός. But however this may be,² the space seems to me to be too small for us to assume a new Saying; and if the Papyrus actually contained one, we must now resign ourselves to its disappearance.

FOURTH SAYING.³

[Λεγ]ει [Ἰησοῦς ὅπ]ου ἐὰν ᾧσιν [. . .] ε [. . .] . .
(θ)εοὶ καὶ [. .] (σο) [. .] ε [. .] ἐστιν μόνος [. .] (τ)ω ἐγώ
εἰμί μετ' αὐτ[ου]. ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐκεί ἐνρήσεις με,
σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ εἰμί.

In regard to the condition of these lines on the Papyrus and their meaning, the editors remark as follows:—

"In line 23, immediately* before ΟΥ, there is part of a stroke which may very well be the end of the cross-bar of Π."

"In line 24 the remains of the letter before ΕΟΙ are consistent with Θ only, and those of the letter preceding suit A better than X or Λ, which seem to be the only alternatives. Before this there is the bottom of a perpendicular stroke, which would be consistent with Η, Ι, Ν, Π, and perhaps Γ and Ψ."

"At the beginning of line 25, what we have read as C may equally well be the second half of Π, and O might possibly be one letter, Ω, though this does not correspond with the vestiges so well."

¹ The editors say expressly that in spaces 5 and 6 the letters εἰ are possible; remains of letters can be detected here; in spaces 1-4 and 7 nothing can now be read.

² One misses very unwillingly αὐτῶν after τὴν πτωχείαν. βλέπειν εἰς is a Hebraising construction: cf. the Synoptics.

³ The fifth in the *editio princeps*.

"In line 26 the first letter of which any part is preserved may be **Τ**, **Π**, or **Γ**; but **[Ε]ΓΩ** would not fill the lacuna."

"In line 27 there is not room for **ΑΥΤ[ΩΝ]**, and moreover the tip of a letter is visible, which suits **Υ**."

"It seems fairly certain that the Logion offers a general parallel to Matthew 18. 20, though with considerable divergences. An extension of that verse which comes nearer to our passage is found in Ephraem Syr., *Evang. Concord. Expos.*, c. 14 (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 295), where the important addition "*ubi unus est*" corresponds to "*μόνος*" here, and suggests that **ΕΙC** should be read either at the beginning of line 25 or before **ECTIN**. The meaning may then be that wherever there are several believers, or even only one, Jesus is always present. No explanation can, however, be considered satisfactory unless it enables the lacunæ in lines 25 and 26 to be plausibly filled up, and provides an adequate conjecture for the word ending in **ΕΟΙ**, which is the real key to the whole passage."

"If **ΑΘΕΟΙ** is the right reading there, a contrast seems to be intended between the many ungodly and the one true believer: 'Where all men else are unbelievers, if one alone is (faithful), I am with him.' But *ἄθεοι* is hardly a natural word in this connexion; and some such adjective as *πιστός* would be required in line 25, and it is difficult to see how this can be obtained. Further, unless *εἰ* is lost at the beginning of line 25, both the explanations suggested require either *ἐστιν* to be a mistake for *ἦ*, or *καί* to be a mistake for *κεῖ*."

"The whole passage should be compared with an extract from the Gnostic 'Gospel of Eve,' quoted by Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26, 3: *ἐγὼ σὺ καὶ σὺ ἐγώ· καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν ᾖς ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι, καὶ ἐν ᾧ πάντιν εἰμι ἐσπαρμένος, καὶ ὅθεν ἐὰν θέλῃς συλλέγεις με, ἐμὲ δὲ συλλέγων ἑαυτὸν συλλέγεις*. But the idea here, that Christ is in His believers (cf. John 14. 20), is rather different from that of our passage and Matthew 18. 20,

where it is only promised that He will be with them. It is, however, somewhat tempting to connect the quotation with the remarkable but difficult sentence, 'Raise the stone,' etc., as implying the presence of Christ in all things (cf. Eph. 4. 6). Another possible explanation of these words would be to regard them as a parallel to Matthew 7. 7: 'Ask, and it shall be given you,' and as intended to teach the effort required in order to find Christ."

The editors have, in my opinion, already pointed out the right direction in their completion of the passage, but they have not followed it up to the end, and on that account have failed to reach a satisfactory explanation of it. There can be no doubt of the following:—

(1) The second, wholly legible, half of the Saying evidently contains the concrete *application* of the general announcement in the first half, and that in two examples.

(2) Hence it follows that the obscure *καὶ εὐρήσεις με*, and *καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ εἰμι* must be explained in accordance with the plain sentence *ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ*. Any pantheistic significance is thereby excluded. Such a significance may very well have been subsequently attached to the Saying, but is not actually contained in it. For the general sentence, in which that thought must have been strongly expressed, presents rather the entirely different one, "I am *with him*." It is not the union of Christ with wood or stone that is expressed, but the union of Christ with the *believer*, even though in separation from the world he is working on wood or stone, that is, is engaged upon his earthly toil. (For the form of the expression see below.)

(3) If it is certain (and it is so) that the second half of the general sentence contains the thought, "I am with him, wherever one is alone," and that the subsequent application expresses the fact that this holds good for the *situa-*

tions in which this single man finds himself, then one expects the general sentence to run: *καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς ἔστιν μόνος, οὕτω ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ*.¹ This reading corresponds accurately with the number of letters and with the remains of letters which are still visible.² It has this advantage, that we do not require to insert either an *εἰ* or a *πιστός*, or to change an Indicative into a Conjunctive; and further, it brings into connexion with the very probable *οὕτω* a corresponding *ὥσπερ*. The general announcement therefore ran thus: "Just in the way in which a man is alone am I with him." Now we can understand the paradox of the expression: "raise the stone, and there thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood, and I am there." There is here, indeed, something mystical, but nothing pantheistic. The sense is: "If only a man is truly alone, that is, separated from the world, then Christ is as surely with him as those objects are to which his daily toil is applied." Not in stone and wood is he to find and have Christ. (It is certainly misleading, but only misleading, that *ἐγγεγον* may also be understood in a ritual sense. But no one can think of the splitting of wood for a sacrifice; we should in that case, moreover, be dealing with acts of heathen worship.) It is just in his earthly drudgery that a man will find Christ as certainly as he has stone and wood before him. A man entirely set free from the world—that is the declaration—is always with

¹ For *ὥσπερ* . . . *οὕτως*; compare Matthew 12. 40; 13. 40; 24. 27 (Luke 17. 24); 24. 37. In Paul, as is well known, *ὥσπερ* . . . *οὕτως* (*καὶ*) is especially common, cf. Romans 5. 12, 19, 21; 6. 4, 19; 11. 30; 1 Cor. 11. 12; 15. 22; 16. 1; Gal. 4. 29; cf. also James 2. 26.

² After *καὶ* there are two letters completely illegible; these I have restored as *ωρ*: of the three following letters the third has entirely disappeared; I insert *p*; the first of the three shows, according to the editors, the remains of a *π* or *c*; I insert *π*: for the second they surmise an *o* or (in combination with the third) *Ω*; in such uncertainty it may be permitted to write *ε*. Of the three next letters only the first is legible, *ε*; we fill in *εἰς*. Then follow the clearly deciphered words *ἐστιν μόνος*, and of the next four letters the fourth is certainly *Ω*, the third probably *τ*, so that *οὕτω* is clearly indicated.

Christ, or rather, Christ is always with him, and that just in the way in which his particular situation demands. He is in the full sense of the word his *Comrade*. At the right moment Dr. H. Lisco has drawn my attention to the words in Ecclesiastes 10. 9: *ἐξαίρων λίθους διαπονηθήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς, σχίζων ξύλα κινδυνεύσει ἐν αὐτοῖς* (מִסִּיעַ אֲבָנִים יַעֲצֹב בְּשִׁבְרָם יִשְׁכַּח בָּם בְּרִיחַ בִּלְקַע עֲצִים יִפְּסוּ בָם = "if he breaks stones, he shall be wounded of them; if he splits logs, he shall be in danger of them.") Our text cannot be without some connexion with this passage, and clearly it is an intentional antithesis to it. The pessimistic preacher says that a man will find pain and danger in his labour. Christ says that he shall find in them Himself. It does not follow from this that the author of this Saying (it may be Jesus) must have rejected the Old Testament because he framed the antithesis. While it is, however, in itself worthy of attention that in a Gospel—in a Saying ascribed to Christ—the Preacher is referred to, it is still more remarkable that the Saying does not follow the LXX. (which gives *ἐξαίρων* rightly), but another translation of the original text. But ought we not to read *ἐξαρον* in line 27? According to the facsimile that appears to me quite possible.

If, however, the main point of the Saying lies in the word *μόνος*, signifying withdrawal from the world, then we may venture to complete the sentence. And here the editors appear to me to have approached near to the right solution, but not to have actually found it. Seeing that the reading *ὅπου ἐὰν ὦσιν . . . ε . . . (α)θεοι* is well established, there can be no reason to resist the reading *ἄθεοι* (cf. Ephesians ii. 12: *ἥτε τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ χωρὶς χριστοῦ . . . καὶ ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*). "Wherever the crowd is, there are the godless ones"; that we might well expect. But since the following *καί* makes it more probable that here also we have a positive, an encouraging, assurance, and seeing further that in the narrow space there is hardly room for

this thought, the simple reading will be: ὅπου ἐὰν ὦσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄθεοι, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς ἕστιν μόνος, οὕτω ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ. This reading answers all the conditions with the single exception that the editors require four letters before the ε in εἰσιν, whereas οὐκ has only three. But κ always takes up a good deal of space in the MS. And we might also read οὐχί. This reading, the *thought* of which I take to be certain, while its verbal form is very probable, is further recommended by the consideration that it affords a fine climax. "Wherever they are (the disciples, of course) they shall not be without God, and in whatever way a single one works in solitude, removed from the world, I shall be with him as certainly as the object of his labour is beside him."

It is a profound sentence and a valuable parallel, though differently applied, to the evangelic promises of Christ's presence: "I am with you always," "I will not leave you orphans." Cf. also Matthew 10. 29.¹ The editors have already remarked that the Saying, "Ubi unus est, ibi et ego sum," is attested by Ephraem, *i.e.* by Tatian (Zahn, *Diatessaron*, p. 169; cf. also Resch, *Paralleltexte zu Matthäus*, p. 233 f.). It is particularly to be noticed, moreover, that in this Logion ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ is a complete parallel to οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄθεοι.² This points to the conclusion that in the Gospel from which this saying is derived, God and Christ had been brought specially close to one another, somewhat in the Johannine manner; and that this unity was repre-

Ἀνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν (ἄθεοι). Of course the Saying before us is taken from a larger context. The discourse must have been about the disciples. It is as if, for example, the saying in 17. 16 were excerpted and isolated from the fourth Gospel; ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰσὶν καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμι ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. But the Saying which corresponds most closely in contents to this (and also in respect of the union between the Father and the Son) is John 14. 23. For μόνος cf. John 8. 29; 16. 32.

¹ The word is not found in the Gospels; but it is used by Paul (*vid. supra*), and that alongside of χωρὶς Χριστοῦ: and it is only the *word* that is lacking.

sented not alone as one of disposition and of will, follows from the introduction to the third Saying (see above).

The explanation here given involves the laying aside of the hypothesis which would relate this Saying to the romantic sayings in the Gospel of Eve, or to those in the *Pistis Sophia* (cf. e.g. p. 145, "Ego sum isti et isti sunt ego"). It excludes also any pantheistic interpretation,¹ as well as every interpretation which regards the stone-lifting and the wood-hewing as anything else than the rough and solitary labour of the day. Was not the Speaker Himself a carpenter, and the son of a carpenter? Is He not here speaking out of His own experience of God's nearness, which He had discerned as a living presence during His own work as carpenter, as real as the objects of His toil? Of course we are not to understand Him "in a Lutheran sense." The blessing does not lie in the work itself; and yet the saying is a protest against the idea that the nearness of God is a fact for, and to be discerned by, those only who are engaged in fasting, prayer, and meditation. No; God is also present at the daily task, but only then when the disciple is actually *μόνος*—that is, separated from the world.

However, the effect of a spoken word is not confined to the direct line of its original purpose. In an enthusiastic circle, in which religious reflection and speculation were strained to the uttermost, and where also a knowledge of Stoicism was not wanting, a Saying like this (*ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ* · ἐξἄρον τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐὺρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ εἰμί) was bound to act as a finger-post pointing in the direction of pantheism. That such a result took place is shown by the remains of the Egyptian-Gnostic Gospels.

¹ I cannot understand the editors' reference to Matt. 7. 7 as another possible parallel.

FIFTH SAYING.¹

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, Οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτ[ο]ῦ, οὐδὲ ἰατρὸς ποιεῖ θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς γινώσκοντας αὐτόν.

The first half of this Saying corresponds, word for word, with the Synoptics, and, indeed, apart from the fact that Luke gives οὐδεὶς (Matt. 13. 57 and Mark 6. 4 οὐκ ἔστιν), it corresponds word for word with Luke.²

The second half is new, and yet finds a remarkable parallel in the texts of Matthew and Mark. Thus the latter goes on thus (6. 5) : καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐκεῖ ποιῆσαι οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις ἀρρώστοις ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐθεράπευσεν· καὶ ἐθαύμασεν διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν.³ That the physician in this Logion is combined with the prophet is accordingly nothing new.

The passage is thus related both to the type presented by Matthew and to that in Luke. Moreover, the word *θεραπεία* is found only in Luke (Matt. 24. 45). The case here, therefore, is the same as in the first Logion. We look in vain in the Gospels for the expression οἱ γινώσκοντες αὐτόν. This Saying also, like the third, is a sorrowful one. No one will seek to deny that it may have been spoken by Jesus.

SIXTH SAYING.⁴

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, πόλις ὠκοδομημένη ἐπ' ἄκρον ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐστηρυγμένη οὔτε πε[σ]εῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυ[β]ῆναι.

¹ The sixth in the *editio princeps*.

² In Luke ND give *ἐαυτοῦ*, the other Uncials *αὐτοῦ*. Matthew 13. 57 and Mark 6. 4 have *ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ* for *δεκτός*, and Matthew writes *ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ*, while Mark further inserts *καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενέουσιν αὐτοῦ* between the two phrases. Finally, John writes (4. 44), *αὐτὸς γὰρ Ἰησοῦς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι προφήτης ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει*.

³ Matthew 13. 58 has the same thought, but in a shorter form: *καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις πολλὰς διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν*.

⁴ The seventh in the *editio princeps*.

In Matthew, who alone reports this Saying (5. 14), it runs: οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη. But Tatian (Arab. ed. Ciasca, p. 15a) read, as did also the Peshitta: "Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem *ædificata*." If this suffices to cover one divergence, we may perhaps compare *Clementine Homilies*, iii. 67 (Resch, *Paralleltexzte zu Matthäus*, p. 68 f.: χρῆ οὖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὡς πόλιν ἐν ὕψει ᾠκοδομημένην φιλόθεον ἔχειν τάξιν καὶ διοίκησιν καλήν). This would provide a parallel also for the second divergence.¹ But these variations (? due to translation) are unimportant. The additions, however, καὶ ἐστηρικμένη and οὔτε πεσεῖν, are noteworthy. They complicate a Logion which has a clear and single meaning. This can hardly be the original form. A "city" which cannot "fall" is a strange idea. Rather does it appear as if the parable of the house on the rock (Matthew 7. 24-27) were making its influence felt. There we have οὐκ ἔπεσεν, and, though the house is not ἐστηρικμένη, it is ᾠκοδομημένη ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν. It is of importance that we have here a Saying contained in Matthew, but not found at all in Luke.

SEVENTH SAYING.²

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἀκούεις. (ι)σ(τ)ο(ε) . . (τ)ιον σου (το).

The Editors remark that the reading after ἀκούεις, where line 42 begins, is wholly uncertain. They say that εἰς τὸ ἐνώπιόν σου would be possible; and the last two letters may be KE or ΓΕ. It cannot, therefore, be decided whether we should read ἄκουε ἰσ- or ἀκούεις at the end of line 41. ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ appears to be excluded. In any case, the Saying is an unknown one; for no Saying in our Gospels begins with ἀκούεις or ἄκουε ἰσ.

¹ ἄκρον is found in the Synoptics; Matt. 24. 31; Mark 13. 27; Luke 16. 24.

² The eighth in the *editio princeps*.

THE BALANCE OF CHARACTER.

(REVELATION XXI. 16.)

THE secret of all physical beauty is proportion. It is not enough that the feature of a face be perfect in itself; it must be in harmony with the expression. Nathaniel Hawthorne, in "Transformation," is not afraid to give his type of beauty a nose not absolutely straight; he says that otherwise it would detract from the playfulness of the countenance. A city irregularly built is not necessarily a city whose individual buildings are bad. There are some towns where you see a small cottage side by side with a four-storeyed house. The cottage may be perfect in architecture; the house may be perfect in architecture; but the conjunction of the two is unsymmetrical. The eye receives its impression of pleasure in the same way as the ear receives its impression of pleasure—from the harmony of the parts, from the balance of the different elements.

In describing the city of God the seer of Patmos fastens on the attribute of *proportion* as the essence of all its beauty, "the length and the breadth and the height of it are equal." Yet in this he is not mainly guided by an artistic impulse. He is writing an allegory of the human soul. He longs to see in the mind of man a balance of character; he regards a balance of character as the goal of all development. He puts into the city what he would like to see in the heart; he makes his city his *symbol* of the heart. It is in passing from the one to the other that St. John's picture begins to suffer. It contradicts the common view. The world's ideal of beauty may be that of a well-proportioned street or a well-proportioned town, but it is not that of a well-proportioned character. The type of heroism we select for admiration and imitation is commonly a one-sided type—a character in which one part of the nature has

absorbed the other parts. We are all familiar with the expression, "He leads an irregular life." We generally apply it to a course of evil, and in this sense it expresses our condemnation. But there are irregularities in the course of goodness as well as of evil. The spiritual city of God, as at present constituted, is a series of irregular buildings; and the most unhealthy symptom of all is that by reason of their irregularity they please the common eye.

What I understand by irregularity in the city of God is the holding of one quality in isolation from other qualities. We cannot do better than take the three qualities given in this verse,—height, length, and breadth; an allegorical passage should be allegorically interpreted. We begin with height. There is a class in the Christian Church who are called mystics. They keep their eye on the mountain, and they are in danger of forgetting the plain. Sometimes they look so high that the length and the breadth are ignored. There is no finer example than the early life of St. John himself. He was always a mystical soul. He was thinking of where he would sit on the right hand when his work on earth was scarce begun. Yet, this man who was so intent on the upper city of God and the means of beautifying it, had no sympathy with the imperfections of a village in Samaria. Do we not see the same thing in actual life? Many a woman sheds tears over a romance and is cold to a case of real distress. Many a girl has the vision of being a sick nurse—of seeing an ideal hospital in the air, who yet after trial leaves the real hospital in a fortnight. The reason is plain. The ideal city and the ideal hospital are alike one-sided. They indeed call man to sympathise with sorrow, but it is only with romantic sorrow—sorrow such as knight-errants may feel. The city has no gutters, the hospital no unseemly wounds. It is the vision of isolated height—height without length or breadth.

There is a second class in the religious world who may be

said to represent isolated *length*. These are they who walk for ever over the long, narrow plank of duty, never looking up to the stars, never looking round to the highway, but simply pressing on through the daily task, and making life a monotonous routine. The nearest New Testament type of this is perhaps St. James. He is distinctively the apostle of law. He rarely lifts his head from the practical. John may have his apocalypse, Paul may be taken up to the third heaven, but James treads perpetually the plank of duty. Tradition says he found it rather arduous work. No wonder. Nothing helps the practical like the vision. We never do common things so well as when we have seen something out of the common. We walk best on the plank after we have raised our eyes. Faith helps to justify a man even in the sense of making him just. Work can no more exist comfortably without mysticism than mysticism can exist profitably without work. The length without the height is as great an irregularity in the spiritual building as is the height without the length. Both must grow together if there is to be a harvest.

There is a third class within the city of God—the men of isolated *breadth*—breadth contemplated to the exclusion of either height or length. I would take as their representative that young man in the parable who said he would not go, but went. He was not a bad man, but he wanted the reputation of independence. He wished to emphasise the fact that he had leapt over the fences set up by the men of old time. He desired to air the negative elements in his nature, to show that he was beyond leading-strings, to make it plain that, if he followed the course of others, it was not a homage to law, but an act of grace. He was, in short, a man proud beyond all things of his Christian liberty. Now, wherein lies the sting of such a position? In this, that liberty, as such, is not a thing to be proud of at all. It depends entirely on the quality of the thing in

which you are free. Is it good to leap a prohibitory fence in order to find a short cut? It may or it may not be. The question is, Why do you wish a short cut? Is it to get a doctor sooner in a case of sickness? Then you are justified in leaping the fence, in braving the prohibition. But to leap the fence merely as a proof that you are not restrained is an ignoble thing. Freedom for its own sake is not beautiful; it is nearer to animal. To make it human, it must be the freedom to do good. It must be the liberty of something which is noble—the liberty to proclaim glad tidings, the liberty to unclasp the Bible, the liberty to extend the communion of love. Breadth cannot be a quality standing alone. We want to know *what* is broad. Is it broad charity? Is it broad sympathy? Is it broad cloth? Is it broad humour? Tell us the thing to be extended, and we shall tell you how far the extension is desirable. You speak of a broad platform; how *high* is that platform? Breadth without height is an idle thing.

Now, St. John says that the aim of the Divine architecture is to remove these irregularities in the city of God, to equalise the three elements held in isolation. That this is the aim will be manifest if we reflect that human life is so constituted as to give successive play to each of them. Each has its day, and each finds at the end of its day that it is by itself inadequate, unable to give effect to its ideal. The history of every rounded life exhibits the steps of a process by which we pass in succession from the one to the other. Let us try to trace the order of the spiritual kingdom.

We all begin in the heights. The first world that opens upon us is an ideal world. The city on which the eye of childhood rests is not a city of stone and lime; it is a series of houses not made with hands. In the religious life, as in the secular life, man receives the kingdom as a little child—with his eye on to-morrow. To the individual soul, as to

the collective church, the first thing seen is the last advent. When the eye first catches the light of Christ, it sees without perspective and without shadow. The second coming is already at the door. We stand upon the hill-top and look down upon the world below ; and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers. The earth dwindles as we gaze. Its pleasures, its pursuits, its ambitions, sink into insignificance before the sight of the ideal splendour. All the old mountains become valleys. Everything that we strove for in the past seems a waste of time. There is only one reality—the other world and the preparation for it. We sympathise neither with length nor with breadth. We call the plank of duty mere morality, as distinct from evangelical religion. We call the exercise of freedom a spirit of worldly conformity, a want of seriousness about Divine things. The light of the future has put out the light of common day.

By-and-by there comes a check to this soaring ; the bird gets into collision with something which breaks its wing. We go wrong in some way ; we experience a fall. Then we turn aside from the sky to the earth, from the height to the length, of the city. We begin to travel over that narrow plank of duty which we have so long neglected. And the plank generally becomes to us narrow indeed. We make up our minds that the thing in which we have fallen is the one hindrance to the Christian life, that to conquer *this* temptation is the essence of the whole Gospel. Perhaps it was the passion of drink to which we yielded ; then teetotalism becomes the whole duty of man. Perhaps it was the pride of wounded affection which lowered our nature ; then pride becomes to us the unpardonable sin. The days in which we tread the plank are not commonly days of charity.

At last there comes to us a cry from Macedonia or some other quarter, "Come over and help us." When we look across, we make a discovery. We find that these

people are also moving on a plank, but that *their* plank is different from ours. One voice cries to us: "*Your* case is the opposite of mine. *You* had too much natural passion; *I* had too little; *I* was too cold to be easily influenced by good." Another says: "*You* had an overplus of pride; *I* had always too much humility; *I* was never sanguine enough to be a believer." There breaks upon us the knowledge that in the length, as well as the height, of the journey we have been one-sided. We find that we need something more than either the sight of the sky or the vision of our own narrow plank—the recognition that others have *also* their plank, in other words, the breadth of human sympathy. It is here, and here alone that the building reaches proportion, for it is here, and here alone, that the isolation of a quality becomes impossible. Christian breadth is not a negative, it is the most positive of all things. It is distinguished, not by what it rejects, but by what it accepts. It finds a place in the structure for every plank that has ever borne the weight of a human foot, for every thought that has ever sustained a human spirit, for every interest that has ever inspired a human heart. Christian breadth is the close of negation; it is the reconciliation of all things.

The distinctive feature of Christianity from an artistic standpoint is, as Paul says, just this power of gathering together, of presenting in a connected view those parts of the building which, in other faiths, are exhibited in isolation. Christianity, in truth, is the only religion which professes to save without eliminating a part of human nature. No one would deny that other forms of belief have contributed something to the moulding of man's character. But in all of them man has had to pay a price for it—the price of mutilation. They have exalted one phase of our nature at the expense of another; nay, by the *sacrifice* of another. Even in this natural sense, the re-

ligion of Christ may boast that it has made its offer, "without money and without price."

The Brahman has done something for man; he has taught him to look beyond the seen and temporal. This, indeed, is his distinctive message. But it is professedly an exclusive message. Brahmanism is the worship of height—height without length or breadth. Everything that relates to length or breadth is crucified. There is no room in the building for plain materials; it is all towers. There is no place for the common world—the world where men strive and toil. It is a religion of wings, not of hands and feet. Life as it exists is ignored. Man occupies the world in order to get out of it. Every other phase of human nature is annihilated for the sake of one—its moments of rapt contemplation. It is a heavy price to pay for being set free.

The Jew has done something for man; he has taught him to walk over the long and narrow plank of duty. This is *his* distinctive message—the keeping of the law. But here again, it is an exclusive message; it is length without height and without breadth. There is no justification by faith, no sense that a man may give promise by his mere aspirations, even while his actions lag far behind. Everything is measured by the yard, by the line. The standard of excellence is the amount of work done, rather than the conviction of the amount of work to *be* done. Man's duty is to sweep the streets of the city of God; and so intent is he on cleansing the pathway, that he forgets the actual purity of the sunbeams overhead.

The Greek has done something for man. He has taught him that there is a beauty in the absence of fetters, a sense in which it is good to say, "I don't care." The characteristic of the Greek is breadth—the freedom from restraint. But here too the emancipation is bought with a price. It is breadth, but it is breadth without height. There are

two ways in which a man may say "I don't care." He may cast his cares upon God, and feel that in His hands they are all right, or he may cast them into the wastebasket—become reckless of their existence. The Greek is the latter. He preaches breadth for the *sake* of breadth. He teaches man to leap the fences, simply because they *are* fences. He rids him of his old toil-worn garment; but he takes away along with it the rich treasure which is wrapt in its folds. The death of care becomes the death of earnestness.

Now, in Christ, these three are one—the height, the breadth, and the length. I believe that in Christ this is their order. All are comprehended in one word—love. Love begins in the height. If it had not a height to spring from, it could not descend. Its sacrifice demands an original sense of glory. Then it empties itself of its glory, takes a servant's form. It narrows itself—not immediately to its *own* plank of duty, but to *mine*. With a more than *Greek* abandonment, it passes beyond itself, leaps the fences of its own personality; it takes up my cares, my burdens, my sorrows. Finally, as a result of that, it is able to tread with speed the length of its *own* plank; its personal yoke becomes easy, its individual burden light. If you begin with the thought of self—even of self-improvement, it is very difficult to pass into the life of another. But, if with Christ you begin by passing into the life of *another*, if with Him you put yourself in sympathy on the narrow plank which *others* have to tread, you will find that your own way is made smooth and gentle. Judaism shall be best fulfilled *after* Christianity, for there is no power like love that can help us to keep the law, and there is nothing which makes us strong like the absolute surrender of ourselves.

GEORGE MATHESON.

*BACON AS AN INTERPRETER OF HOLY
SCRIPTURE.¹*

WHAT is it which forms the necessary equipment for one who should adequately set forth the meaning of Holy Scripture? First, it is clear that there must be that harmony between the interpreter and his subject matter which can only be found in the spiritually minded. Secondly, he must have ever at hand a quick intellectual discernment, the power of perceiving what is and what is not of real significance, and so of setting forth the truth broadly and luminously. Thirdly, there is the needful equipment of the scholar; the knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages in the different stages of their development, the faculty of differentiation between shades of meaning in word and phrase as employed by the same or by various writers. Now while the first is a necessary condition to such exposition, it will be perceived that neither the second nor third is in the same degree indispensable. The commentary of a spiritually minded scholar may be good, that which issues from a devout and philosophic mind may be even great. Bishop Wordsworth, of Lincoln, who was at once a fine scholar and a man of the deepest religious temper, thus produced good work in the exposition of Holy Scripture. The late Mr. Spurgeon, without, as the present writer believes, the slightest knowledge of Hebrew, published a volume on the Psalter, to which many a scholar has found himself indebted. Still for epoch-making commentaries one must look to authors with the threefold endowment—to Bengel, to Keil and Delitzsch, to Godet, and happily to our own Lightfoot, Westcott, and Samuel Cox.

There may seem a touch of grotesqueness in bringing together the names of C. H. Spurgeon and Francis Bacon,

¹ The references to the Essays are taken from Prof. Morley's edition.

yet for the present purpose there are points of comparison and contrast between the two which are not irrelevant to pursue. For while Bacon stoutly preferred Latin as the language of the communication of his thoughts, both were possessed of a strong and nervous use of English, and each was less careful of the form than of the force of what they had to say. Both plainly were inexhaustible note-takers, and drew from a plentiful store of what was ready to their hands, but while Spurgeon's life-work in sermons or in commentaries was deliberately and wholly the exposition of Scripture, Bacon's interpretations were casual, accidental, and merely illustrative. Both were wanting in scholastic equipment. Spurgeon wholly so; Bacon, as will be seen, partially, for he seems quite indifferent as to the source or accuracy of his Scriptural quotations. Despite, however, of these divergencies, there is to be discerned a common element of interpretation, a strange, yet not unexpected, likeness of thought as the sturdy Nonconformist of the 19th century, or the great philosopher of the 16th, addresses himself to unfold a text. For both were religious men: Spurgeon wholly so with deficiencies in culture and even vulgarities of manner; Bacon really so, yet with awful failure in morals until near his end. And both were men of force and action. The work of one may seem to have passed away with his life. Bacon's life-work is imperishable. Had the philosopher fully addressed himself to theology, it is not too much to surmise that the unique position of the *Laws of the Ecclesiastical Polity* in our English divinity would have been challenged, and our later debt to Professor Mozley would be less than it is. There is only a single treatise of Bacon in which there is any direct treatment of religion, and he would probably have strenuously disclaimed for himself the position of an exegete of Scripture. That he knew the Bible well is evident; it is not, however, likely that he could have produced a first-rate

or even a formal commentary on any of its parts. His references to the text are often incidental and merely allusive, but they are always telling. His method of quotation and explication would scarcely satisfy a student who looks at his work from the standpoint of modern criticism.¹ But acumen is there, and force is there, and his interpretations, if read in that Latin form in which Bacon doubtless would have preferred us to read them, show a remarkable resemblance to the notes of that prince among commentators—Bengel, of the next century. Bacon's critical apparatus was nil. All the evidence points to his ignorance of Hebrew, and to a lack of adequate acquaintance with the New Testament in Greek. He may not, indeed, have pursued the study of the latter language after his precocious childhood at the University. As a student his heart was in the Latin tongue, and out of its abundance he spoke. One might almost say he thought in it.

As far as his essays are concerned, which the ordinary reader will, not without reason, regard as the fairest fruitage of his thought, quotations from Greek authors are by comparison rare, but there is scarcely a paragraph which does not reveal his ripe knowledge of Latin literature. He presses, yet without constraint or affectation, into the service of his ideas, Horace and Virgil, Ovid and Juvenal, Cicero, Tacitus and Livy, Seneca, and Augustine of a later age. But intimacies with these masters, as with a whole host of lesser Latin authors, could furnish no equipment for the exact commentator of Scripture. He had to fall back upon his own master mind, and it scarcely ever failed him. Others might conceive the meaning of the several words of a text better than he, it was Bacon's supreme genius to fasten upon the context. He seems to know by intuition the sense of a passage because he had already

¹ Students of the Essays will bear in mind that Bacon's quotations from the Scriptures are mostly through the Vulgate.

grasped its necessary conditions and circumstances. Justice, therefore, can never be done to Bacon by the pedantry of scholarship. It will for ever judge him in this regard from a false point of view. Bacon himself almost anticipated such a criticism. Men, he declares, in many a recurrent phrase, are lost about words, whereas they should look at things. Whenever Bacon turns to Scripture his thoughts are real, vivid, luminous, it is facts and certainties with which his readers are face to face before he has done with them. Had he been a preacher, his method and his force would have been like that exhibited in the *Contemplations* of Bishop Hall. Bacon's greatness is the more remarkable herein because he is not a divine. Rays fall from him when he never meant to shine.

To cover the whole field of Baconian literature in order to estimate the worth of the great English thinker as an interpreter of Scripture would be a large and difficult task, requiring a volume for its adequate treatment, and one impossible for the writer of this article. A humbler effort is, however, feasible within its limits. Bacon's Essays are familiar to every one with a rudimentary acquaintance with the English language, they have, indeed, helped in their measure to form it. Here is found the thought of Bacon at its ripest and richest. As a fragment of our national literature it would scarcely fail to answer to the test of frequent quotation to-day, for there is no writer so frequently quoted, or so often without acknowledgment. Countless treatises to-day, articles, essays, what not, owe their best to what Bacon has already expressed better three hundred years ago. His ideas, his suggestions, are native and original, but they are so fertile and cover so wide an area that they can be appropriated with small chance of detection except by the few. Happily Bacon as an interpreter of Scripture is spared this fate. A modern divine is impressed, startled, even convinced, by his bold and authoritative inferences.

But it requires the genius of a Bacon to follow out his view of the significance of a passage. There lies the text, and there his comment, fearless, abrupt, rugged, full of force and fire; but force and fire alike fail in hands that borrow them.

The Scriptural quotations in the Essays of Bacon are less than a hundred in number. Some essays lack any such quotation, others are more fertile in them, but the subject matter of any given essay is a precarious guide to their presence or absence. The essay "on Unity in Religion" has indeed more Scriptural references than any other, but they are formally disclaimed in the essay in which they might have been looked for—that "of Prophecies." The quotations are, as a matter of fact, as Bacon might have expressed it, "made on hazard." Now Scripture gave him his point; now, it is not indevout to say, he gave point to Scripture. But it is plain that Bacon did not quote Scripture as on the same level with Pagan writings. It is always a reverent handling to which he submits it, and when comment or illustration follows, or, as in many cases, precedes, Bacon's genius, the genius now of an interpreter, is seen at its highest, and his genius rises to the touch of that which is no less than inspiration.

It is of interest to note the immediate sources from which Bacon draws his Scriptural quotations. As might be expected from his passion for aphorisms, it is the Sapiential books which mainly attract him in the Old Testament. The references to the book of Proverbs are frequent. Here the quotations fit into the Essays, both in form and sentiment, with a striking harmony. The Prophets are rarely quoted, still more rarely the Psalms. For the rest, it is not so much a quotation of text as of incident or event in the life of Israel, or of an individual member of the chosen people, which is made ever clearer by some felicitous exposition. In the New Testament by far the largest number

of references is made to the four Gospels. Quotations are made, but with no great freedom, from the Pauline Epistles. There is no direct citation either of the Acts or of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Less use is made than might have been anticipated from Bacon, of the Epistle of St. James. The gnomic form of that letter, its insistence upon practical morality, its strong and nervous sentences, must have appealed to Bacon, but St. James is only quoted three times ; yet had Bacon been armed and ready for the enterprise, how he would have dwarfed all other commentators on that Epistle !

The skilful employment of these quotations is worthy also of special notice. The way in which they are interwoven into the texture of the Essays is never the same. This variety is itself a mark of genius. A clumsier writer would bring in quotation and comment, even if appropriate, with a monotonous and dreary sameness. Not so with Bacon : the formula is never constant, the only thing that is constant is the happy surprise it is sure to bring to the intelligent reader. Thus sometimes the germinant thought lies in Scriptural text, and the comment follows like thunder after lightning. At other times the thought is Bacon's own, and the text follows, making a conclusion which for the devout student is indisputable, irresistible. At other times the idea and the Scripture are so subtly blended that it seems as if they could not be put asunder. As an interpreter of Scripture Bacon may have his superiors ; in its apt quotation he stands absolutely unrivalled.

Let him, however, speak for himself.

How far-reaching is that suggestion of his on the prime ethical contrast between the two covenants !

“The virtue of prosperity is temperance ; the virtue of adversity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament ; adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the

greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. And the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon." ¹

There is as much conveyed in those lines as in some entire essays on Christian Ethics to-day. With like sagacity Bacon regards the two extremes of over zeal and indifference in relation to Unity in Religion : ²

"Both these extremes are to be avoided, which will be done if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour Himself, were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded. 'He that is not with us is against us'; and again, 'He that is not against us is with us.' That is, if the points fundamental and of substance in religion were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention."

Bacon anticipates the verdict that must be passed upon such an exposition. It is enough praise to say that it is sound and plain.

Later on in the same essay there is a fine illustration drawn by the philosopher as to false peaces or unities in religion. "There be two," he says, "the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance (for all colours will agree in the dark); the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood in such things are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image: they may cleave, but they will not incorporate."

For more direct interpretation the following instances may be given :

In the essay "of Revenge," ³ he declares that "in taking it a man is but even with his enemy, but in passing it over he is superior, for it is a prince's part to pardon. And

¹ Essay No. V. "on Adversity."

² Essay No. III.

³ Essay No. IV.

Solomon, I am sure, saith, 'It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.' That which is past is gone, and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and things to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters."

Later on, after quoting as "desperate" the saying that we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but nowhere to forgive our friends, Bacon declares that "the spirit of Job was in a better tune. 'Shall we,' saith he, 'take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?' And so, of friends, in a proportion." What a depth of significance in this comment of seven words!

That Bacon always remains suggestive, even when he is scarcely critical, may be noted in a passage in the essay "of Usury,"¹ where he quotes thus from S. Matthew xix. 8:

"I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis*, for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted."

Or again, in reference to Atheism,² quoting from the fourteenth Psalm: "The Scripture saith, 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.' It is not said, 'The fool hath thought in his heart.' So as, he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it or be persuaded of it. For none deny that there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it, within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others."

Surely Bishop Butler must have owed something to this masterly comment on the sarcasm of the Psalmist.

¹ Essay XLI.

² Essay XVI.

Mark the sagacity of his observation upon Proverbs xviii. 11, in the essay "of Riches":¹ "You will say they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles. As Solomon saith, 'Riches are as a stronghold in the imagination of the rich man.' But this is excellently expressed that it is in imagination and not always in fact, for certainly great riches have sold more men than they have bought out."

Or, again, in the same essay,—

"Of great riches there is no real use except it be in distribution, the rest is but conceit. So saith Solomon,² 'Where much is, there are many to consume it, and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?' The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches. There is a custody of them or a power of dole and donative of them, or a fame of them, but no solid use to the owner."

To interpret the Proverbs so Bacon must have shared somewhat the experiences as well as the wisdom of the writer.

In the essay "of Goodness and Goodness of Nature"³ he quotes S. Matthew v. 45 in order to enforce the expediency of conferring benefits upon others with due discrimination of need and circumstances:

"The example of God teacheth the lesson truly: 'He sendeth his rain and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and unjust'; but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally. Common benefits are to be communicate with all, but peculiar benefits with choice."

Later on in the same essay,—

"'Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow Me.'⁴ But sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow Me, that is, except thou have a vocation, wherein

¹ Essay No. XXXIV.

² Essay No. XIII.

³ Prov. xxviii. 20.

⁴ S. Mark x. 21.

thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise in feeding the streams thou driest the fountain."

How keen and subtle is Bacon's reference in the essay "of Envy"¹ to Genesis iv. 5!

"Near kinsfolk, and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised; for it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others. And envy now redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted, there was nobody to look on."

The suggestion is the outcome of the training of no school but that of life and experience.

A like perspicacity is shown in the passage with which this Essay on Envy closes:

"It is also the vilest affection and most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called 'the envious man, that soweth tares among the wheat by night.' As it always cometh to pass that envy worketh subtilty and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things such as is the wheat."

A few more instances must conclude this sketch of Bacon's power as an interpreter of Scripture.

In the essay "of Judicature,"² he declares of Judges, that "above all things 'integrity is their portion and proper virtue.' 'Cursed' (saith the law) 'is he that removeth the landmark.'"³ The mislayer of a mere stone is to blame; but it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul ex-

¹ Essay No. IX.

² Essay No. LVI.

³ Deut. xxvii. 17.

amples: for these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain.' So saith Solomon, 'Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario.'¹ . . . A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence as God useth to prepare his way by raising valleys, and taking down hills;² so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecutions, cunning advantages taken, combination, great power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen to make inequality equal that he may plant his judgment as upon even ground."

" 'What is truth?' said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer."³

So runs the famous introduction to the Essays of 1625. Bacon may or may not be right in his estimate of the Procurator's attitude. It is the converse of this which any-way represents that of the philosopher. He was for ever asking the same question, asking it with a deep seriousness, and *staying* until facts and certainties should give him, and others like-minded, an answer. If one looks to his contribution to literature or to philosophy, Pope's epigram upon him seems as shallow as it is cruel. The debt, however, which students of Holy Scripture owe to him for such interpretations of it as have been illustrated by these few examples has never been adequately acknowledged. At least he bids scholars mind things more than words, and remembers that the discovery of truth may be lost while they are balancing grammatical niceties. All cannot possess Bacon's "piercingness and delicacy of observation," as they study and expound the meaning of Holy Writ, but all can imitate his indomitable industry, his directness, and his passion for verities.

"Then he went on till he came to the house of the In-

¹ Prov. xxv. 26.

² Isa. xl. 2-5.

³ S. John xviii. 38.

terpreter, when he knocked over and over. Then said the Interpreter unto Christian, 'Come in, I will show thee what will be profitable unto thee.' Then Christian saw the picture of a very grave person hung up against the wall. It had eyes lifted up to heaven, the best of books in its hands, the law of truth upon its lips."

The immortal author of the *Pilgrim's Progress* would not have so framed Francis Bacon, yet is the portrait true of his fine spiritual foresight, his real knowledge of the Bible, and the force as well as the rule of his interpretations.

B. WHITEFOORD.

*A NEW GERMAN COMMENTARY ON THE
MINOR PROPHETS.*

A SHORT review of an important book should at least not fail in giving some true idea of its merits and of the nature of its contents. It should, also, if this can be done without impertinence, mention some points which the reviewer would desire the author to reconsider in a second edition, for, even if he approaches the subject of the book from a similar point of view, he is sure to be able now and then to suggest possible improvements. It may be true that at turning-points in our lives we learn only (as Goethe says) from books which we cannot criticise, but when we have gained principles and methods we are, save for the lack of experience, on a level with our teachers. Possibly enough some one who reads these lines may be able to solve some problems by which Nowack has been baffled, even though it is only a year or two since he left the class-room; and the willingness of Nowack to recognise English and American work (though some not contemptible specimens of such work were unknown to him) assures me that he will give a friendly reception to any slight suggestions which I may make. "Gladly would he learn, and gladly teach," are words in which Chaucer aptly describes the true scholar, and such is Prof. Nowack.

The form of the page is the same as in Duhm's *Isaiah* and Budde's *Job*. But space is gained by the total rejection of the division into parallel lines; even the liturgical poem in Hab. iii. is printed as prose. Later insertions are indicated by italic type or by square brackets, while passages translated from a corrected text are indicated by asterisks at the beginning and the end. Where the text is plainly wrong, but no satisfactory correction can be offered, dots are put. The notes are not broken up, as in most English commentaries, but run on to the end of a section.

They are closely packed, and therefore would not translate well; an advanced scholar will find them all the more enjoyable. When the interpretation of a whole section requires to be discussed, as in the case of Hos. i.-iii., ample space is given, and throughout the true sense-divisions of the prophetic texts are carefully indicated. The introductions are condensed, but cannot, in my opinion, be charged with obscurity or inadequacy. Passing next to the translation, it is clear that the critical standard has risen considerably in the last twenty years. Prof. Nowack is cautious by nature, but he accepts or propounds views which would formerly have been called rash, but which, with deeper insight into principles and into the condition of the text, critics receive now with much favour. There is not a single one of the so-called Minor Prophets without passages in italics; asterisks, too, abound. I cannot here give a list of all the later insertions marked as such by this very circumspect critic, but those in Hosea and Amos may be recorded.¹ The three psalm-like passages, Jon. ii. 2-10, Nah. i. 2-ii. 3, Hab. iii., are, of course, among those printed in italics, and due credit is given to Bickell and Gunkel for their acute researches on the second of these poems. I should add that throughout the book ungrudging recognition is given to Wellhausen's only too brief, but truly brilliant, contribution to the study of these prophets.

On the criticism of the text I shall speak more fully below. Much as Wellhausen has done for this subject, a great deal more still remains to be done, and the latest commentator has now and then (probably more often than

¹ Hos. i. 7; ii. 1-3, 6, 8 f., 12, 16-18, 20-25; iii. 4 ("and David their king") and perhaps v. 5; iv. 6a (perhaps), 11, 14 (end), 15a; v. 3b; vi. 11; vii. 4; viii. 1b, 5 (end); ix. 9 (part); x. 3, 4, 5 (end), 9 (end), 10, 13b, 14 ("as Shalman . . ."); xi. 8b-11; xii. 1b, 4b-7, 13f.; xiv. 10; besides interpolated words here and there.

Amos i. 10f. (probably); ii. 4 f.; iii. 14b; iv. 12 f.; v. 8 f., 26; vi. 2, 9 f.; viii. 8, 11 f.; ix. 5 f., 8-15.

I have yet discovered) cleared up what Wellhausen has left obscure. Thus in Hos. vii. 16, where the Revised Version has, "They return, but not to him that is on high" (which is far from probable), Prof. Nowack very happily restores, for לֹא עַל, לְבַעַל, "to Baal." Dislike to the name Baal led to its extrusion from the text. Similarly, as Paul Ruben has already pointed out (Nowack has duly noted this), in Hos. xi. 7, הַבַּעַל has become עַל. This correction adds one more to the list of passages manipulated in the interests of edification. Our critic's judgments on the dates of books, or parts of books, are sensible and circumspect; in the latter part of Zechariah I should sometimes have liked a little more boldness combined with the indispensable caution. But that all parts of Zechariah are post-Exilic, Nowack is as firmly convinced as Wellhausen himself, and having long ago defended the same conclusion, I rejoice. Perhaps our critic is also a little too cautious at the end of Hosea. He admits that the fourteenth chapter has been "worked over" with no sparing hand. What hinders him from printing it in italics is the consideration that Hosea must have expressed such a hope of a better future as chap. xiv. contains; his presuppositions are quite different from those of Amos, who did, as it would seem, conclude with terrible threatenings. This argument is inconclusive. No analysis of xiv. 2-9 seems to me possible; though v. 10 may be a still later addition. Even if, therefore, we conjecture that Hosea did prophesy the return of Israel to Jehovah, we have no warrant for assigning a composition so late in colouring to the authorship of Hosea. But it is quite intelligible that on the subject of "secondary passages" opinion should now and then be divided, and the difference between Nowack and myself is but slight. I should like to add an expression of satisfaction at the treatment of the second part of Micah, and having done this will proceed to make the suggestions to which I referred.

Hos. v. 13, x. 6. Surely מֶלֶךְ יָרֵב, "king Jareb," should be מֶלֶךְ רָב, "the Great King"; cf. Ps. xlviii. 3. Or perhaps מֶלֶךְ רָם, "the High King"; cf. LXX., *ἡγεμ.*

Hos. vii. 15. Ruben points out that LXX. has *ἐπαίδευθησαν ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ γὰρ* for M T's יִסּוּרוֹ בִּי וְאֲנִי יִסְרַתִּי. The conclusion is inevitable that יִסְרַתִּי is a dittograph of יִסּוּרוֹ.

Hos. viii. 1. Wellhausen and Nowack give up the opening words in despair. Certainly, "The trumpet (horn) to thy palate," is impossible. The correction, however, is almost certain. The text should run, "Lift up the voice with strength, (yea,) as a trumpet against the house of Jehovah, because," etc., הֲרֹם קוֹל בְּפִתַּח בְּשֹׁפָר עַל-בֵּית יְהוָה. Notice that מִצָּרִים immediately precedes; this accounts for הֲרֹם falling out. שֹׁפָר and כִּנּוּר (rather כִּפְשָׁר = כִּשְׁפָר) are really various readings; the latter form only is correct, as Grätz has already pointed out. This clever scholar also suggested קוֹל for אֵל; cf. Isa. lviii. 1. Nowack prints the second half of the verse in italics. I incline to make the whole verse a later addition, except that בֵּית יְהוָה may be Hosea's; something, at any rate, stood here, though not the present text.

Hos. x. 7. Nowack should have mentioned Grätz's correction כִּקְטָף; קִצֵּף is suspicious. Cf. קִצְפוֹ, Joel i. 7, and Nowack's notice of Grätz's excellent suggestion. The margin of Revised Version, "as twigs," is in any case correct.

Hos. x. 14. Nowack, following Wellhausen, regards "as Shalman, etc.," as a later insertion; "Shalman" he identifies with Shalmaneser. But I now think that M T is incorrect. LXX. B has *ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Ιεροβοαμ.* "Beth-Arbel" should in fact be בֵּית יִרְבֵּעַם, "the house of Jeroboam," and שְׁלֹמֹן should be שְׁלוֹם. Ver. 14b contains a note of a later reader, who was contemporary with the murder of Zechariah, son of Jeroboam II., by Shallum. Cf. Amos vii. 9.

Hos. xi. 1. Surely Ruben (following Symm. and Theod.) is right in reading לִי בְנִי, "and ever since (his residence in) Egypt I called him my son." Nowack does not mention this, but is not quite satisfied with his own correction which follows LXX.

Hos. xi. 4. Nowack prints "with cords of love" in italics; an editor misunderstood the expression, "with human bands." But this spoils the structure of the verse. For אָדָם read חָסֵד (with Grätz, *Psalmen*, p. 144). חָסֵד is a favourite word of Hosea. חָסֵד was miswritten חָסֵד; then, to make sense, ח was read ח and ח was read א. Cf. חָסֵד for חָסֵד, 2 Kings xx. 43, xxi. 4f.; וְיָדָא for וְיָדָא, 2 Kings xvii. 21.

Hos. xii. 1 (E. V. xi. 12). The margin of Revised Version gives, "And Judah is yet unstedfast with God, and with the Holy One who is faithful." This, however, is self-evidently wrong. Besides, all the other passages in which a supposed root יָדָא occurs are corrupt. Cf. note on Isa. xv. 3 in Haupt's edition of the Hebrew Bible. Instead of יָדָא, Marti and Nowack would read יָדָא: "Judah is still intimate with God." But LXX., to which they refer, is here wide of the mark. I propose, "But Judah (walks tremblingly with God, and is stedfast in relation to his Holy One," וְיָדָא חָסֵד עִם-אֱלֹהִים וְעִם-קְדוֹשׁוֹ נֶאֱמָן. M T's יָדָא comes from חָסֵד. Either the ח in חָסֵד is a mistake for י, and the scribe put י immediately afterwards to repair his error, or the ח was inserted to make sense after ח had been corrupted into ע. The gutturals ע and ח are often confounded (cf. Zeph. ii. 14).

Hos. xiv. 7 (E. V. 6); E. V., "his smell as Lebanon." "Lebanon" and "olive-tree" are not proper parallels. Read לְבָנָה (iv. 13): some large, shady tree is meant, perhaps the bushy plant called storax.

Joel iv. 11 (E. V. iii. 11), Revised Version, "Haste ye"; marg., "Assemble yourselves." Both these renderings of עָשׂוּ are highly disputable. "Perhaps the word is cor-

rupt" (Nowack); but this is an understatement. Wellhausen conjectured עירי, "Awake." But it is unlikely that Jehovah's "heroes" (see v. 9) and the hostile peoples would be addressed in the same phrase. Rather read גָּשִׁי, "Draw near." ע and נ were sometimes confounded, from phonetic causes; cf. גללתי for עללתי, Job xvi. 15.

Amos i. 2. Prof. Nowack will find that the view which he rejects is my property, and I hope and think that it is much stronger and more solid than he supposes.

Amos iii. 12. Wellhausen, who supposes a word to have dropped out, renders, "who sit at Samaria in the corner of a couch, and at Damascus * * * of a divan." But, as Nowack remarks, what business have the grandees of Samaria, whom Amos threatens with judgment, at Damascus? He suspects that the error lies in ברמשק, and doubtfully accepts Grätz's conjecture בשמיכת, i.e., "on the covering." But שמיכה only occurs in Judges iv. 18, where Grätz himself corrects, no doubt rightly, מכסה. I have no doubt that ברמשק is a corruption of במשכב; render therefore, ". . . and on the cushion of a divan." ערש and משכב, synonymous words, are combined, as ערש and יצוץ in Ps. cxxxii. 3.

Amos iv. 13. For מדה־שׁוֹי, "what is his musing" (as if שׁוֹי), read, with Grätz (following Targ.), כְּעֵשְׂהוּ, "his work."

Amos viii. 14. Revised Version, "As the way of Beer-sheba liveth." Wellhausen conjectured בארץ, "thy well"; Nowack, אֱלֹהֶיךָ, cf. LXX., ὁ θεός σου. But why not mention Winckler's יְיָדֶיךָ, "thy divine patron"? To me this appears undoubtedly correct (cf. Isa. v. 1, and the personal names containing the element Dōd).

Obad. 20. Revised Version, "And the captivity of this host of the children of Israel, which are (among) the Canaanites, (shall possess) even unto Zarephath; and the captivity of Jerusalem, which is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south." Marginal renderings, however,

show the uncertainty of the Revisers, and had they been at liberty they would probably have expressed a serious doubt as to the correctness of the text. Nowack, "And the exiles of . . . who are in . . ., will conquer Phœnicia as far as Sarepta, and the exiles of Jerusalem, who are in . . ., will conquer the cities of the Negeb." In a note he says, "Verses 20 and 21 are hopelessly corrupt; in ver. 20a the verb belonging to גלת is wanting. Nor can we say what is to be understood by החל. Orelli and others explain חל, 'army,' Hitzig 'fortress.' But neither rendering gives a clear sense. . . . What is meant by ספרד is equally uncertain; LXX.'s *Εφραθα* produces no intelligible interpretation." And then come four lines about the cuneiform inscriptions, including a reference to Schrader's well-known book (translated by Whitehouse). This is rather unsatisfactory. Surely a reasonable conjecture, suggested by the probability of omission and of transposition of letters or words, ought to be ventured. Surely too the facts of the cuneiform inscriptions ought to be given, and a reasonable attempt to harmonize them ought to be made. That ספרד is corrupt, is doubtless not impossible, but, unless we set our faces against the use of archæological evidence (which is just the offence with which we are, most unfairly, charged as a class by Hommel, Sayce, and Winckler), we ought to presume that, if it can be explained archæologically, it is *not corrupt*. Now it can be so explained, and has been so explained. First, however, as to the text of the first half of v. 20. אשר before כנענים (rather כנע, as Nowack) and לבני ישראל, both appear to me misplaced; and the groups of letters (words I cannot call them) החל-הזה may be fragments of החבור הזה גיון. The whole clause should run, "And the exiles of the Israelites who are in Halah and by Habor the river of Gozan (2 Kings xviii. 11) will conquer Phœnicia as far as Zarephath." Next, as to Sephard. The province Sparda

is mentioned by Darius next to Ionia. It is highly probable that Jewish captives were to be found not only in Ionia (cf. Joel iii. = iv. 6), and hardly less likely that the name of the province should once at least find mention (just as 'Abar-naharā is mentioned) in the later literature. Prof. Sayce's exposition of the archæological facts in his *Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 482-484, seems to me very lucid. The probability therefore is that verses 15-21 were written not later than the latter part of the Persian age, and it is not impossible (more we cannot say) that the Jewish exiles in Sepharad, or rather (for the form סְפָרַד is pausal) Sephared, i.e. Sparda, found their way thither as a result of the cruelties of Artaxerxes Ochus. That this fierce conqueror did drive many Jews into exile is expressly stated.

Mic. i. 15. Nowack, "Unto . . . will I bring you, O inhabitants of Mareshah; unto Adullam will come the glory of Israel." I venture to think the required correction is a very simple one. In fact, because it is so simple, I have some hesitation in proposing it. Read—

"Unto a new betrother will I bring thee, O community of Mareshah;
For ever shall the nobility of Israel perish."¹

The "betrother" is the foe, who, on the battle-field near Mareshah, will destroy for ever the noblest part of the people of Israel. Compare the metaphor in v. 14a, where there is evidently a word-play in מוֹרֶשֶׁת and מְאָרְשֶׁת, "the betrothed." The passage runs (Revised Version), "Therefore shalt thou give a parting-gift to Moresheth-Gath." The word rendered "parting-gift" occurs again in 1 Kings ix. 15, of the city of Gezer, which Pharaoh took from the Canaanites and gave to his daughter, Solomon's wife. Into the difficulties connected with "Moresheth-Gath," which are well stated by Nowack, I am not called upon to enter.

עַד-מָאֲרֶשֶׁת אֲבִילָה יִהְיֶה כְּרֶשֶׁה
עַד-עוֹלָם יֵאָבֵד נְבוּלָת יִשְׂרָאֵל :

Hag. i. 9. Nowack makes no reference to the interesting little dispute between Wellhausen and Kosters relative to the meaning of **וְאַתֶּם רְצִים אִישׁ לְבֵיתוֹ**. In his translation of the Minor Prophets the former scholar renders, "While ye are in haste to build your own houses." Kosters (*Het Herstel*, etc., p. 21) objects that this puts violence on the Hebrew text, which only says that the Jews have, each man, a house to go into; nothing is said of building. In his reply to Kosters, Wellhausen abandons his former view, and reads **וְאַתֶּם רְצִים אִישׁ בְּבֵיתוֹ**, "while each of you takes pleasure in his house." Nowack gives the right sense, but vainly tries to justify it as a translation, "while each of you bestirs himself (*euch eifrig regt*) for his house." He refers to Prov. i. 16, Isa. lix. 7 (in reality one passage), which, however, are not parallel. Surely we should read **חֲרָצִים** (Prov. xiii. 4).

Zech. vii. 2. Revised Version renders, "Now (they of) Bethel had sent Sharezer and Regem-melech, and their men, to intreat the favour of the Lord," etc., with a marginal rendering, "Now they of Bethel, even Sharezer . . . had sent." Wellhausen detected the corruptness of the text, and rendered thus, "In fact, . . . sent Regem-melech and his men to propitiate," etc. Marti took a slightly different course. In Kautzsch's Old Testament he rendered thus, "The family of El-sarezzer and Regem-melech with his men sent (an embassy)," etc. I believe, however, that I have proved that the true reading is as follows: "It came to pass . . . that Bel-sarezzer and Regem-melech sent men (*i.e.* a deputation) to propitiate Jehovah," etc. Also that Bel-sarezzer and Regem-melech are no other than Bilshan and Raamiah, who are mentioned in Ezra ii. 2, Neh. vii. 7, among the "heads" (so Esdr.) of the Judæan community in the early post-Exilic period. In Ezra ii. 2 Raamiah is wrongly given as Reelaiah, in 1 Esdras v. 8 as Resaias. The text in 1 Esdras v. 8 further gives, instead of Bilshan,

Beelsarus, and it was this that put me on the right track. "Bethel Sarezzer" in Zech. vii. 2 should of course be "Bel-sarezzer"; "Bethel" is senseless. The insertion is indeed not so common as the omission of letters, but it occurs sometimes (e.g. in Isa. xvii. 3, where אֶפְרַיִם, "Ephraim," should probably be אֲרָם, "Aram"). The senders of the deputation are obviously leaders of the community. Wellhausen asks, "Is Bethelsarezzer (or however else the name should be written) perhaps Zerubbabel?" But Haggai calls Zerubbabel by his usual name elsewhere. The truth is that the deputation was sent by two of the twelve leaders called "heads." Zerubbabel had probably been recalled to Persia on a suspicion of his disloyalty. His successor as governor may have been a Persian; at any rate, the two leading members of the college of "heads" feel that they can represent the laity of Jerusalem. Dr. Marquart, of Tübingen, pointed out to me that Regemelech is Raamiah; probably the right form of the name is Raam-melech ("the divine king is the Thunderer"). He thus enabled me to complete the explanation of the passage, Beel-sar(us) being obviously a shortened form of Bel-sarezzer. There is no doubt more to be said, but this may suffice on the present occasion.

Zech. xii. 11, "as the mourning for Hadad-rimmon"; so Nowack rightly. But our critic's explanation of the name is, I think, certainly wrong. Rimmon is no doubt Ramman, the Assyrian Storm-god. The two views which I have expressed may no doubt appear inconsistent. But I believe that the name has a strange history (see "Hadad-rimmon" in Messrs. A. & C. Black's forthcoming *New Bible Dictionary*).

Mal. iii. 20 (E. V. iv. 2). Nowack retains M T's מִשְׁתַּמֵּן, a most suspicious ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. But is not Grätz's correction, מִשְׁתַּמֵּן, "ye shall grow fat" (Ps. cxix. 70) far preferable?

These suggestions are offered to Prof. Nowack in no arrogant spirit. Some of them may be better than others, but all are perhaps worth consideration. In textual criticism, as well as in critical analysis, he does some good service, but more I think in the latter than in the former. I would also venture to refer him to an article on difficult passages in the prophets, which appeared in the *EXPOSITOR* for Jan. 1897, and which, among other interesting passages, dealt with Hos. vi. 8, 9; Amos i. 2, v. 26, ix. 8-18; Nah. ii. 8. In the last of these passages I consider a difficult word from an Assyriological point of view, adopting a suggestion of Paul Ruben's which has escaped Nowack's attention (העלתה = העלתה; cf. Ass. *etellitu*, "mighty, regent," a feminine form). The whole passage now becomes simple. Altogether, the author has lost not a little from his perfectly excusable and unavoidable unacquaintance with the latest English and American work. I will only mention Dr. Davidson's *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, in the small Cambridge Bible; Dr. Driver's *Joel and Amos* in the same series; Prof. G. A. Smith's interesting *Twelve Prophets*, vol. i., and, last but not least, several articles in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, especially one by Prof. N. Schmidt on Amos v. 25-27. Nor has the new edition of Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel* been used quite as much as it might have been. On the other hand, some of the older English works have been noticed by Prof. Nowack in a very friendly manner, e.g., articles by Robertson Smith in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It is a misfortune that English and American scholarship should still be so little known on the Continent, though an improvement is beginning to be visible.

Once more I beg to recommend Prof. Nowack's book as a fine piece of critical and exegetical work, and indispensable to all students of the prophets.

T. K. CHEYNE.

THE TASTE OF DEATH.

"Of a truth I say unto you, There are some of those standing here, who shall in no wise taste of death until they see the kingdom of God."—*LUKE* ix. 27.

THE Synoptic parallels coincide; but *Mark* ix. 1 adds "coming in power," and *Matthew* xvi. 28 substitutes "the Son of Man coming in His kingdom." All agree in the strong phrase *οὐ μὴ γεύσωνται θανάτου*.

The meaning of this difficult text has been constantly discussed, and no less than seven or eight different interpretations have been given to it. This wide divergence on the part of the commentators is partly due to a want of unanimity as to the proper context to which the words belong,—whether to the preceding or to the succeeding section; but more especially to a disregard of the full significance of the phrase "shall in no wise taste of death," which for the most part is treated as if merely equivalent to "shall not die." The words are, further, in consequence of this, generally accepted as denoting a promise of exceptional privilege to a few, and the possibility that they may be a warning of exceptional doom has escaped notice.

The determination of the special context to which the words belong is of the first importance towards arriving at their true meaning. All three accounts agree in placing the passage in the same relative position as regards what precedes and succeeds it. Our Lord had been inculcating the necessity of self-denial and a daily bearing of the cross, and had contrasted the value of the world gained and the life lost, adding in the *Marcan* and *Lucan* account the fearful warning that of those who in this life should be ashamed of Himself and His words, He would be ashamed when He came in glory. *Matthew's* phrase bears the same tenour, though it is not couched in the same language. He dwells upon the recompense that will be meted out to

every man according to his deeds at the Second Advent. At this point there follows in each of the Synoptists the passage with which we are dealing. And then immediately succeeding it also in each of the Synoptists follows the narrative of the Transfiguration. The question to be decided is, To which of the two sections does it belong? Most editors of the Greek text (including Westcott and Hort) and the Revisers have connected it with the former and not with the latter section; and they appear to be right.

The Marcan tradition, probably following the original Petrine discourses, has preserved what we may call blocks of narrative, separate in themselves, and not necessarily connected either in time or subject-matter with the other blocks of narrative to which they are contiguous. Now the opening words of the narrative of the Transfiguration give one the impression of commencing a new section of narrative, while the words under discussion as naturally appear to be the solemn close of a different section. This impression is strengthened by the want of internal connexion between the two. The Transfiguration offers no adequate fulfilment of the kingdom of God coming with power, or of the Son of Man coming in His kingdom, whereas 'that coming in glory' has just been mentioned in the verses preceding our passage. Nor would there have been any point in solemnly ("Verily, I say unto you") making a statement that some of those present would not die before something happened that was to happen in less than a week. We conclude therefore that the passage is to be taken, not as the introduction to the Transfiguration section, but as the close of the preceding series of exhortations.

Placed in this connexion the passage gains a new light. The "coming of the kingdom" or "of the Son of Man" stands in immediate parallelism with the "coming in

glory " for the last judgment just spoken of, when each man will be rewarded according to his deeds, and those who have refused to bear the cross and to confess the Son of Man in their earthly life will be rejected by Him. Thus the words become a warning for those of the Jews standing by who were, or would be, ashamed of Christ on earth. Such an interpretation would seem to follow naturally from the context; for a promise would be out of place here at the close of a series of hortatory warnings, and to the "coming of the kingdom" is given the same full meaning alike in the two consecutive verses. It *must* refer to the Second Advent in the preceding verse, and it ought to have the same meaning in this one. No doubt in one sense, and a very familiar one, Christ's kingdom "came" in the potential establishment of the Church on the day of Pentecost; it "came" also in the destruction of Jerusalem, when the visible remnants of the old Covenant were swept away and the gospel left in possession of the field; but neither of these "comings" seems to fully correspond with what the words demand. *We* can see, looking back upon the scene, what was involved in the day of Pentecost for the Church; but to *contemporaries* it could hardly have suggested itself as a fulfilment of a "coming of the Son of Man." Moreover, the destruction of Jerusalem, terrible and overwhelming as it was to the Jews and to the Hebrew Christians, was not an event which especially impressed the Gentile Christian, or furthered the extension of the Church. It was a judgment upon the apostate race far more than a fresh access of strength to the new kingdom.

The view of the passage above advocated finds ample confirmation in the form of the words used. The force of the phrase "taste of death" must now be examined. It is clear from New Testament usage that this is no mere Arabian figure used rhetorically for simple physical

death. On this point it will be sufficient to quote Dr. Westcott on Hebrews ii. 9.

"The phrase, which is not found in the Old Testament, expresses not only the fact of death, but the conscious experience, the tasting the bitterness, of death. Man, as he is, cannot feel the full significance of death, the consequence of sin, though he is subject to the fear of it; but Christ, in His sinlessness, perfectly realized its awfulness."

The note bids us compare Matthew xvi. 28 (our present passage), and John viii. 52. But in the note on this latter passage Dr. Westcott seems to take a different view. He lays stress on the inaccuracy of the Jews' citation of Christ's words—"If a man keep My saying, he shall never see death (*θεωρήσῃ θάνατον*)," which they altered into "he shall never taste of death (*γεύσῃται θανάτου*);" and adds, "The believer, even as Christ (Heb. ii. 9), does 'taste' of death, though he does not 'see' it in the full sense of verse 51."

But it is quite possible that Christ in His discourse had really used the phrase they cited, although it does not appear in the condensed report of what had preceded. A similar instance of a phrase quoted from an unrecorded utterance is found in John xii. 34, on which Dr. Westcott's note is very clear.

The account of the phrase given in Hebrews ii. 9 seems the more satisfactory one; and if it is retained in the present passages (Matt. xvi. 28; Mark ix. 1; Luke ix. 27) and John viii. 52, we avoid any ambiguity in the English use of the word "taste."

We thus conclude that no believer "tastes of death," though he does pass through it as a portal to life. The tasting of death is the full conscious experience of its bitterness, and this has been done away by Christ's death and resurrection for those who are His. The Saviour's

words therefore imply that although some of those present would *die*, they would not *taste* the bitterness of *death* until His second coming to judgment. The phrase thus refers to spiritual death, the second death, which will be the state of the unbelieving.

The ambiguous use of the word "taste" has been already mentioned. We commonly use it in two different senses : (1) of fully experiencing the flavour of anything which may be either pleasant or unpleasant ; and (2) of *sparingly* in contrast with *freely* partaking of anything. This latter use is derived from the former, and is not an original sense of the word. The slight partaking is a result of the full taste experienced. Thus our Lord "tasted" the stupefying draught offered Him before He was nailed to the cross, and discovering its nature refused it (Matt. xxvii. 33, 34) ; the "tasting" implying, not that He only took a little, but that He fully recognised the mixture by its flavour. Similarly the ἀρχιτρίκλινος "tasted" the water made wine, and was struck with the excellence of its flavour (John ii. 9). Indeed, the verb γεύεσθαι seems to be nowhere used in the New Testament in the latter of the two senses given above. St. Luke uses it in its common Hellenistic sense of ordinary eating at a meal (xiv. 24 ; Acts x. 10 ; xx. 11 ; xxiii. 14). So, too, St. Paul in Colossians ii. 21 employs it in connexion with ascetic abstinence from certain kinds of food. But the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews uses it uniformly of *spiritual* experience (ii. 9 ; vi. 4, 5)—a sense which is also found in 1 Peter ii. 3, and also (we venture to think) in the passage at the head of this paper, of spiritual death.

T. HERBERT BINDLEY.

SOME NEW TESTAMENT SYNONYMS.

Δείγμα, υπόδειγμα, τύπος, υποτύπωσις, υπογραμμός.

It is a vain ambition to glean where Archbishop Trench has reaped; but outside the field covered by his labour lies a rich harvest, of which all that has yet been given to English students is but the firstfruits, the instalments found in the pages of different commentators and lexicographers. Perhaps a beginner may be pardoned for presuming to offer an attempt at a task which older hands have left still undone, the task of elucidating some of the long list of synonyms which the scholarly archbishop collected in his preface (p. xi., note 2) as a silent appeal to others to carry on his work. Few of the words there grouped are more interesting and instructive than the five synonyms that serve in the New Testament to convey, with slight shades of difference, suggested by their origin, if not implied by their context, the common idea of *pattern* or *example*.

I. The simple form δείγμα denotes in a word a sample, a specimen—a part which indicates the nature of the whole, a particular instance of a general character or statement, *e.g.* Isocr. 321A, ὥσπερ δὲ τῶν καρπῶν ἐξευεγκεῖν ἐκάστου δείγμα πειράσομαι. μικρὸν γὰρ μέρος ἀκούσαντες ῥαδίως τοῦ μὲν ἥθος γνωριεῖσθε, and Dem. 641. 21, δείγματος ἕνεκα (Lat. *exempli gratia*); and in later Greek, Lucian, *Scyth.* 7, τοῦτο δείγμα τῆς φιλοσοφίας τῆς Ἀττικῆς. In the only place where it occurs in the New Testament, Jude 7, where Sodom and Gomorrha πρόκεινται δείγμα πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσai, its classical meaning will suffice. The cities are set before the eyes of the world as a sample of Divine retribution, whether as an instance of sinners punished, like Israel of old (v. 5) and the fallen angels (v. 6), πυρὸς going with δίκην, “suffering the punishment of everlasting

fire" (R.V.), or less probably, πυρὸς going with δαῖγμα (Huther, *ad loc.*), as an instance of the particular kind of punishment in store. In either case the idea of warning comes from the context. The Latin equivalent in point of original meaning is *exemplum*, a sample (from *eximo*, e.g., *exemplum tritici*, *purpureae*, Auct. Hereun. iv. 6. 9), rather than *documentum*, which is essentially a proof or a lesson (from *doceo*), though *exemplum* at once in use assumes a moral aspect like *documentum*.

II. The compound ὑπόδειγμα, used in Xen. *Equ.* ii. 2, as a "sign" or a "mark," was in the sense of "example" condemned by Atticists (Lob. *Phryn.* 12) in favour of παράδειγμα, which is certainly far more common in the best Attic writers, though Bleek on Hebrews iv. 11 has vindicated the claims of ὑπόδειγμα to a place in classical Greek. The two differ in meaning, παράδειγμα involving the idea of comparison or of exhibition, ὑπόδειγμα that of suggestion. Παράδειγμα, used of Sodom and Gomorrha in LXX. 3 Maccabees ii. 5, παράδειγμα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις καταστήσας, never occurs in the New Testament, nor does the verb παραδεικνύναι (to compare or to represent), while παραδειγματίζειν (to make a public example of an offender) must give place in Matthew i. 19 to the simple verb δειγματίζειν at the bidding of textual criticism (cp. Lightfoot, n. on Col. ii. 15). Ὑπόδειγμα, on the contrary, is used in the New Testament, not only in the classical sense of an example, but also in the sense of a suggestion, a sense not found in classical writers, but best grasped by a glance at the classical uses of the verb. Ὑποδεικνύναι means (1) to give a secret intimation, e.g. Hipp. *Conc.* 196, of medical symptoms; Hdt. i. 32, Polyb. ii. 70, 7, etc., of hopes and prospects; Xen. *Mem.* iv. 3. 13, of Divine revelation; cp. Acts ix. 16. (2) to suggest by example, e.g. Arist. *Poet.* iv. 12, where Homer's comic characters are described as serving for a type of later comedy; Xen. *Oec.* xii. 18;

Arist. *Oec.* i. 6. 5, of a teacher's example; cp. Acts xx. 35. (3) to teach indirectly, by indication rather than by exposition, Isocr. 38 D; a meaning frequent in the New Testament, e.g. Matthew iii. 7, Luke iii. 7, vi. 47, xii. 5.

It is this idea of suggestion which is characteristic of the noun *ὑπόδειγμα* in the New Testament. (1) It is used of an imperfect sketch, a representation of something more perfect. In Hebrews viii. 5 the Jewish priests are described as those who *ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσι τῶν ἐπουρανίων*. The temple fabric and ritual of that day, like the tabernacle of old (Theophylact, *τὰ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ὑποδείχθέντα τῷ Μωυσεῖ*), were not an "example" (A.V.) nor even a "copy" (R.V.), but a glimpse as distinct from a vision, a partial suggestion as distinct from a complete expression, a shadow as distinct from the reality of heaven. Similarly in Hebrews ix. 23, *τὰ μὲν ὑποδείγματα τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, the earthly sanctuary purified by animal sacrifices, is contrasted with *αὐτὰ τὰ ἐπούρανια*, the heaven which was purified, i.e. opened for man's entrance, by the "better sacrifices" of Christ's self-oblation upon the cross, and by His "self-presentation in heaven as man's High Priest" (Vaughan, *l.c.*). The earthly worship of the Mosaic dispensation was not a copy in the sense of an exact reproduction of the original; it was but a rough reminiscence intended itself to suggest the idea and to train the mind to appreciate eventually the reality of the heavenly truths themselves.

(2) Even in the sense of an example *ὑπόδειγμα* is not merely like *δειγμα*, a sample, but involves the notion of something suggested as a basis for imitation or instruction, just as *ὑπόθεσις* is a proposition laid down as a basis for argument: Polyb. iii. 17. 8, *τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἐξέθηκε κάλλιστον ὑπόδειγμα πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν*. Enoch "pleased the Lord and was translated," as *ὑπόδειγμα μετανόιας ταῖς γενεαῖς* (LXX., Sirach xlv. 16), not that he was an instance of true repentance, but because his strange departure was

to awake men, as ordinary deaths had failed to awake them, to the need of repentance. The deaths of the Jewish patriots were to their youthful survivors *ὑπόδειγμα γενναίων εἰς τὸ προθύμως καὶ γενναίως ἀπευθανατίζειν* (2 Macc. vi. 28). S. James bids the suffering Jewish Christians take the prophets of old as *ὑπόδειγμα τῆς κακοπαθείας καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας* (Jas. v. 10); and the word seems almost appropriated by the apostolic father Clement to the appealing force of a martyr's death (1 Cor. v. twice, vi., xli., though in lv., *ὑποδείγματα ἐθνῶν*, it refers to instances of self-sacrificing devotion drawn from pagan history). It is used to describe that acted parable, the symbolic washing of the disciples' feet: *ὑπόδειγμα γὰρ ἔδωκα ὑμῖν, ἵνα καθὼς ἐγὼ ἐποίησα ὑμῖν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήτε* (John xiii. 15). On the other hand, a sinister idea attaches to the word in Hebrews iv. 11, *ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τις ὑποδείγματι πέσῃ τῆς ἀπειθείας*, i.e. that no man stumble by treading in the footsteps of disobedient Israel, footsteps traced in the sacred record for our instruction; and again, in 2 Peter ii. 6, once more of Sodom and Gomorrah, *ὑπόδειγμα μελλόντων ἀσεβεῖν τεθεικώς*, whether it be a lesson for the benefit of future sinners (*μελλόντων* possess. gen.; cp. 1 Tim. i. 16), or an indication of the fate of future sinners (obj. gen.).

III, From *δείγμα*, the "sample," and *ὑπόδειγμα*, the "suggestion," we pass to *τύπος*, the "type" or "pattern" to be reproduced, and *ὑποτύπωσις*, the "outline" to be filled up. The literal meaning out of which the metaphor grows is that of a stroke, e.g. *τύπος ἀντίτυπος*, "blow for blow" (Orac. ap. Hdt. i. 67); and the LXX. and New Testament provide instances of each stage of the word's development. There is (1) the *mark* produced by a stroke or blow, e.g. a seal, a footprint, a letter of the alphabet; John xx. 25, *τὸν τύπον τῶν ἡλῶν*, "the print of the nails" in our Lord's hands. Next comes (2) a wrought *figure*, e.g. a statue,

an idol (LXX. Amos v. 26, quoted Acts vii. 43), the "graven images" of the Old Testament. (3) A further stage gives the idea of *form* or *character* in general, e.g. of literary style, τ. τῆς λέξεως (Plat. Rep. 397 c); the tenor of a letter (3 Maccabees iii. 30; cp. Acts xxiii. 25, ἐπιστολὴν ἔχουσιν τὸν τύπον τοῦτον).

(4) It is in the sense of a form serving as a *model* that the word occurs most frequently in the New Testament. (a) There is the technical sense of a *pattern* or *design* to be followed in the making of something else. The Mosaic sanctuary, intended to serve as a *ὑπόδειγμα* to the Jews of the heavenly sanctuary, was itself framed κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δεδειγμένον ἐν τῷ ὄρει (LXX. Exod. xxv. 40, Acts vii. 44, Heb. viii. 5). The question whether this *τύπος* shown to Moses was itself "a mere plan of the earthly tabernacle," or "a real manifestation of the heavenly world . . . made in such a form as to fit it to serve as a model for the earthly building" (Delitzsch on Heb. viii. 5), is a tempting speculation, but obviously insoluble.

The special metaphor of a *mould*, not unfamiliar in classical Greek (e.g. Plat. Rep. 326 D, αὐτὸν ἐκμάττειν τε καὶ ἐνιστάναι εἰς τοὺς τῶν κακίωνων τύπους), is clearly visible in Romans vi. 17, ὑπηκούσατε εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς, where the A.V. ("which was delivered you") has destroyed the idea which even the R.V. ("whereunto ye were delivered") fails to convey apart from the Greek. "It is not (1) the impression which Christian doctrine makes upon the heart, nor (2) that ideal of moral life which faith in Christ suggests, nor (3) S. Paul's own distinctive manner of presenting Christian truth, since the Roman Christians had been converted by others" (Liddon, *Analysis of Ep. to Romans*, p. 114). Τύπος here recalls the idea of a mould (Hesych., *χοάνη*, *τύπος* εἰς ὃν μεταχεῖται τὸ χωνευόμενον) into which the plastic material is poured—a metaphor most appropriate in an epistle written from

Corinth, a city famous for the casting of statues (Bp. Wordsworth on Rom. vi. 17). Basil M. (*de Bapt.* I. ii.) illustrates the text by the simile of wax taking shape from a seal, ἵνα ὥσπερ ὁ κηρὸς παραδιδόμενος τῷ τύπῳ τῆς γλυφῆς μορφοῦται, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ τύπῳ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας, μορφωθῶμεν τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον.¹ The Christian creed is no elastic theory for the individual to adapt to his own preconceptions. It is a spiritual mould into which the Christian, child or convert, was placed by God at his baptism, to be fashioned in the inner man after the image of Him that created him.

(b) It is but a step further to the ethical sense of an example to be copied. The perseverance of the Thessalonians in the faith made them τύπους² πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν (1 Thess. i. 7). S. Paul's purpose in working for his own living was to set an example of steady industry, ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δώμεν ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς (2 Thess. iii. 9). The Philippians were to note those who walked καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς (Phil. iii. 17). The young ἐπίσκοπος is to be τύπος τῶν πιστῶν (1 Tim. iv. 12; a living embodiment of right principle, says Theodoret, ἔμψυχος νόμος), and to provide in himself τύπον καλῶν ἔργων (Tit. ii. 7), while S. Peter bids the Christian pastors exercise their ἐπισκοπὴν as τύποι γενόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου (1 Pet. v. 3).

In one case only is τύπος in the New Testament used of a deterrent example, 1 Cor. x. 6, ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, where τύποι refers not to the Red Sea, the rock, the manna, and the water regarded as material types of spiritual antitypes (*i.e.* the Christian sacraments), but to the judgments inflicted upon sinful Israel, as is clear from

¹ Similarly Beza: "doctrinam quasi instar typi cujusdam esse, cui veluti immittamur ut ejus figuræ conformemur." Cp. Arrian *Enchir.* ii. 19, κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τυποῦσθαι, and Clem. Rom. *fr.* viii., where the recipients of the Holy Spirit τυποῦνται ἀληθείας τύπῳ, χάριτος τελείας.

² The τύπον of the Revisers' text brings out vividly the united example of the whole community.

the addition in *v.* 6, εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν, and from the context of *v.* 10, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τυπικῶς (rec. text τύποι) συνέβαινον αὐτοῖς.¹

(c) Lastly, τύπος is used to denote a *type* in the doctrinal sense as corresponding to an antitype, a human person foreshadowing or reflecting a Divine, a material sign indicating a spiritual fact. This use of the word is of course peculiarly Biblical and ecclesiastical, but it has some affinity with the classical use of τύπος, as a rough outline or sketch, an imperfect representation.²

Two ideas are involved in this use of τύπος. (1) There is the resemblance between two corresponding parts of an order of things. Adam is called τοῦ μέλλοντος (i.e. Χριστοῦ) τύπος (Rom. v. 14). There is obviously no thought of imitation, but simply a partial resemblance, and that not of moral character but of function. The point of resemblance is the universality (εἰς πάντας, cp. πάντες . . . πάντες in 1 Cor. xv. 22) of the work accomplished by a single agent (δι' ἑνος); and the remainder of the parallel consists of a contrast in the work done (ἁμαρτία . . . δικαιοσύνη), just as in 1 Corinthians xv. 45 the type and the antitype are identified in their common character as the head of a race by the repetition of the name of the type (ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ . . . ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ), while at the same time the emphasis rests upon the difference between the essential nature of the two (ψυχὴν ζῶσαν . . . πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν). But within its proper limits the resemblance is exact. On the other hand τύπος seems to convey elsewhere the idea of an imperfect resemblance, e.g. Ignat. *ad Magn.* vi., ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις, εἰς τύπον καὶ διδαχὴν ἀφθαρσίας, where the unity of the Chris-

¹ Cp. Theophylact on 1 Corinthians x. 6, ὥστε αἱ εὐεργεταὶ τύποι ἦσαν, οὕτω καὶ αἱ κολάσεις.

² E.g. τύπος opposed to ἀκριβῶς in Plato and Aristotle *passim*; cp. the distinction drawn by Cyril Alex. on Amos vi., ὁ τύπος οὐκ ἀλήθεια, μὲρφωσιν δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσφέρει.

tian Church under bishop and clergy is to serve apparently as a type and a lesson of the harmony of the eternal kingdom of heaven. In both cases the *τύπος* is a prophecy of the antitype.

(2) The other idea involved in *τύπος*, that of a visible representation of an invisible reality, is perhaps akin to the original meaning of a form. *Τύπος* in this case is the material form of a spiritual presence. Thus while Clem. Rom. *fr.* viii. speaks of the Holy Spirit appearing *ἐν τύπῳ περιστέρας*, and Cyril Jerus. *Catech.* iv. speaks of the Body and Blood of Christ being given *ἐν τύπῳ ἄρτου, οἴνου*, elsewhere the bread and the wine are described respectively as a *τύπος* (Ambrose on 1 Cor. xi., *typus*; Tertull. adv. Marc. 40, and August. on Ps. iii., *figura*) of the spiritual food which they convey.

IV. The compound *ὑποτύπωσις* (like *ὑπόδειγμα* compared with *δειγμα*) acquires from the prefix the special idea of a form outlined as the basis for further work. The verb occurs in Aristotle, *Eth. N.* i. 7. 17: *δεῖ γὰρ ἴσως ὑποτυπῶσαι πρῶτον* (i.e. give an outline), *εἰθ' ὕστερον ἀναγράψαι* (i.e. fill up the outline). Plotinus, *Ennead.* vi. 37, contrasts the *ὑποτύπωσις* of a statue with its *ἐξεργασία*. Sextus Empiricus gives the title *ὑποτυπώσεις* to his sketch of the Pyrrhonic philosophy, and Dionys. Areop. 3 writes *περὶ θεολογικῶν ὑποτυπώσεων*, while Simplicius opposes *ὑποτυπωτικὴ διδασκαλία* to *ἀκριβεστέρα παράδοσις*. The noun occurs nowhere in LXX. and only twice in the New Testament. S. Paul says (1 Tim. i. 16) that the *μακροθυμία* which Christ showed in his case was intended *πρὸς ὑποτύπωσιν τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.* The patristic expositors (e.g. Theophylact, *πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα, πρὸς παράκλησιν, πρὸς προτροπήν*) discard the primary meaning and pass at once to the secondary meaning of an example for the encouragement of others, and Bp. Ellicott *ad loc.* regards *ὑποτύπωσις* as differing from *τύπος* only as the process from

the result, the "active display" of mercy from the "passive example." Yet perhaps, in the light of the original meaning of the word, it is not mere fancy to regard the *μακροθυμία* shown in S. Paul's case as an outline of God's dealings with men, "to be afterwards filled up and coloured over with the rich hues of the Divine mercy shed forth over all the world" (Bp. Wordsworth *ad. loc.*; cp. Alford *ad. loc.*, and Bretsch, s.v. *ὑποτύπωσις*).

The other instance is 2 Timothy i. 13: *ὑποτύπωσιν ἔχε ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων ὃν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας κ.τ.λ.* Alford regards this as a reference to the preceding sentence which Timothy is to take and keep as a sample of the sound teaching which he once heard from S. Paul's lips. But the patristic commentators Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Theophylact are surely right in insisting here upon the full force of the metaphor drawn from the art of the painter or the architect.¹ S. Paul had given to Timothy an outline of sound teaching which he is now bidden to keep as a plan on which to frame his own precept and practice. The question whether the *λόγοι* are identical with the *ὑποτύπωσις* or the *ὑποτύπωσις* is a summary of the *λόγοι* is an over-refinement of exegesis. It is more material to recognise here one of those suggestive allusions in the New Testament to a definite form of belief (cp. Rom. vi. 17, Gal. vi. 16, 1 Tim. vi. 12, 20), framed in its simplest shape for the instruction of catechumens and expanded afterwards by the councils of the Church for the protection of the faith against heretical interpretation.

V. One word yet remains, the *ὑπογραμμός* of 1 Peter ii. 21: *Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμόν, ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἰχνεσιν αὐτοῦ.* The substantive itself is unknown in Attic Greek, but the metaphor is fore-

¹ The *forma* of the Vulgate recalls the language of Cic. *Tusc.* iii.: "*forma vitæ beatæ Epicuri verbis Zenonis expressa*"; cf. the words of the *Orator*, "*eloquentiæ speciem et formam adumbrabimus.*"

shadowed by the simile of Plato, *Protag.* 326 D: "just as writing-masters trace out lines (*ὑπογράφαντες γραμμὰς*) with the pen for those of their boys who are not yet skilled in writing, and then give them the writing tablet and compel them to write according to the guidance of the lines, so the state traces out laws, the inventions of good law-givers of old, and compels men to govern and be governed in accordance with these laws."¹ The author of 2 Maccabees, explaining the principles upon which he has summarized the larger work of Jason of Cyrene, states his intention of "leaving to the author the exact handling of every particular and labouring to follow the rules of an abridgment," A.V.; LXX. 2 Macc. ii. 28, τὸ ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τοῖς ὑπογραμμοῖς τῆς ἐπιτομῆς διαπονοῦντες, i.e. the leading lines of the summary. A reminiscence of S. Peter's language is to be seen in Polycarp, *ad Phil.* viii. μιμηταὶ οὖν γενώμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτοῦ . . . τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δι' ἑαυτοῦ, i.e. "set us this copy"; and the word is applied in the simple sense of an example to S. Paul as ὑπομονῆς μέγιστος ὑπογραμμὸς (*Clem. Rom. ad Cor.* i. v.), to our Lord's voluntary ταπεινώσις (*ib.* xvi.), and to God's joy in creation as a pattern of the joy that Christians should find in good works (*ib.* xxxiii.). But it is to Clement of Alexandria that we owe the preservation of the technical sense of ὑπογραμμὸς as a copy-head traced out for children to write over. The ὑπογραμμὸς παιδικός, of which he gives three specimens, each containing all the letters of the alphabet,² throws a vivid light upon S. Peter's language. It is the dotted line of the copy-book of childhood, the transparent drawing slate of the little artist, that is pressed here into the service of Christian

¹ Cp. Plato, *Λαῖος*, 711 B: αὐτὸν (the lawgiver) τὰ πάντα ὑπογράφοντα τὰ πρόττειν, i.e. laying down rules for conduct.

² *Strom.* v. 675, e.g. μάρπτε σφιγξ κλώψ ζβυχθηδόν, quoted with the others in L. Sc. s.v. ὑπογραμμὸς. Clement himself uses the word metaphorically: *Paed.* i., παρατιθέμενος εὐλόγου φροντίδος ὑπογραμμὸν.

teaching. By a natural blending of two cognate metaphors, the suffering Christians are bidden to tread in the footsteps of their suffering Master, copying His patient endurance touch by touch in their own lives, as children follow line by line the letters traced out to guide their yet unskilful hands.

LEWIS B. RADFORD.

THE DRAMA OF CREATION.

SCENE THIRD.

Progress of Order and Beauty.

THE drama proceeds in its onward march along the lighted stage. Again is the commanding voice heard, and a further development of order takes place: "God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear." The messenger who reports the command, or the beholder who both hears and sees, adds, "It was so." Sublimely does action follow speech in this drama of manifold and awful changes, but of few words. All note of time is hidden from us. The result happened: we know nothing more precise. It is not a narrative or a history that we are reading, however brief and terse its statements may be. It is a spectacular representation acted and spoken in presence of some inspired seer, who can perceive at one glance what it may have taken myriads or millions of years to bring about. Sober prose and history, chronologically arranged, have no place here: yet it is "the word of God" which the seer calls on men to receive.

If gross ignorance of facts could be proved against the writer of this drama, or the fanciful representations of an ill-informed reporter, it would be requisite to consider the value of it as "the word of God." But there is no such

ignorance found, no such fancies of a mere romancer, and no call on us from these considerations to doubt that it is "the word of God." Into one place all the seas were gathered; and so the vast oceans of earth are to this day. But the same thing is not said of the dry land. There is one ocean, really but one ocean on earth. But there is no "gathering together" of the dry lands, as there was, and still is, a "gathering together" of the waters. There are, at the present day, three great masses of land, divided from each other, or, it may be, connected with each other, by the "gathering together of the waters." If the verdict of geologists be worthy of credit, things were perhaps never arranged otherwise. So at least they write; so they speak. Whence, then, was the truth to nature, found in this ancient drama, derived? It did not come from man's knowledge, for three or four thousand years ago man's knowledge of sea and land could not have enabled any writer to give a description so scientifically correct. Was it accident?

Accident cannot account for the accuracy of the description. Had the writer of the drama spoken of "the gathering together" of the dry land, but not of "the waters," he would have expressed the knowledge acquired by the age in which he lived. He knew of the parted seas, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea with the Indian Ocean; he knew also of the united lands of Asia and Africa, perhaps Europe as well. But he makes no such mistake. Had he done so, the blunder would have been pounced on in our days, and exhibited to public view as a proof of the fictitious nature of the drama. Small though the matter be, it is well to give a place to this avoidance of error. "The gathering together" of the dry land, and the parting of the waters to form seas was consistent with such science as existed in the writer's days, but not "the gathering together of the waters" and the parting of the dry lands, as we know to

be the truth to-day. The writer of this drama was strangely, singularly correct for the age in which he lived. It was, to say the least, avoidance of error.

The drama proceeds to a fuller presentation of the third scene: "God saw that it was good," this orderly division into sea and dry land. Whether a messenger reports this judgment of God on the work done, or the voice of God proclaims it, we are not informed, but the audience hear and see what follows on the lighted stage. A barren sea! an equally barren land! The parting of these two indicates an orderly arrangement, and further progress in view, but the barren land may be repulsive to the eye of the audience, more repulsive than the barren sea. Life and growth are commanded to clothe the barren land with variety and beauty: "God said, Let the earth put forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth." As the audience look, carpets of gorgeous colouring spring from the barren ground, a wealth of beauty covers the nakedness of the dry land. To the seeing eye the stage seemed to be at once transformed into green meadows, fruitful gardens, and waving forests; "and it was so." Nothing could more strikingly bring out the dramatic nature of the writing than this immediate spectacular change. We are not reading a history; we are reading a drama of the past. That there is history in it cannot be doubted, but it is the history of many ages, concentrated by marvellous literary power into one glance of the seeing eye. Who does not wish that it were so, even if he cannot persuade himself to believe that it is? Or who, believing that this drama is of divine birth, does not feel his heart glow within him at a representation so true to nature and so lofty in literary power?

Should the reality of this literary form in the beginning of Genesis be denied by any one not acquainted with the

books written by Hebrew prophets and heroes, it may be well to remark here that the drama is not only not an uncommon way of conveying truth with them, but that there exist specimens of it, which recall to a reader's mind, if they do not echo, this drama in Genesis. One such was recited or acted in the great square of Samaria before the king of the land, his ally, the king of Judah, his courtiers, his priests, and his people. The reciter of the piece in Ahab's days was a prophet, otherwise unknown, called Micaiah, a prisoner of state, brought forth from his prison house to speak the Word of the Lord to the assembled might and wisdom of the land. "What the Lord saith unto me," he declared, "that will I speak," and an inspired drama was what was said to him and what he spoke. So far as the literary form of it is concerned, it is an exact copy of the drama in Genesis. It runs thus:—

"I saw all Israel scattered upon the hills, as sheep that have not a shepherd.

"The Lord said, These have no master; let them return every man to his house in peace."

In this inspired drama we have action and speech, and ne at least of an audience. In a few words it recalls to our minds the drama of Genesis. There are the chaos and confusion of a nation, scattered on the hillsides; there is next a commanding voice, lovingly infusing order into this disorder. But in what follows Micaiah shows that there was a vast audience, a number of speakers, and action on earth following commands given in heaven. "He said:

"Hear thou therefore the word of the Lord:

I saw the Lord sitting on his throne,
and all the host of heaven standing by him
on his right hand and on his left.

And the Lord said,

Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up,
 and fall at Ramoth Gilead ?
 And this one spoke so, and this one was speaking so.
 And the spirit came forth and stood before the Lord,
 and said, I will persuade him.
 And the Lord said unto Him,
 Wherewith ?
 And he said, I will go forth,
 and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.
 And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and
 prevail also : go forth and do so." ¹

In this sacred drama, recited in the great square of Samaria, and handed down to us in brief outline, we have a view of what the audience probably was in the similar drama of Genesis, "all the host of heaven," on the right hand and on the left hand of the throne; the train, as Isaiah describes them, the train filling the temple, the six-winged Seraphim standing before him, and "this one" calling to "this one" a song of adoring praise. We may well suppose that the audience in the drama of Genesis, audience and chorus or orchestra in one, were the Stars of the Morning, who sang their hymns of praise and shouted their gladness when the world was made, and a barren earth was carpeted with green and gold at its Maker's all-commanding voice. It is difficult to read the story of creation in the Book of Job,² "when the morning stars sang together and all the Sons of God shouted for joy," or the similar story in the Book of Proverbs,³ without feeling, or at least wishing, that they are borrowed from the sacred drama in the beginning of Genesis, or a larger version of it.

That there was an earth-history behind and explained by the unseen world-drama, recited by Micaiah in the great

¹ 1 Kings xxii. 17-22.

² Job xxxviii. 4-12.

³ Prov. viii. 22-31.

square of Samaria, is a matter that cannot be denied. But what, above all things, must not be overlooked or forgotten is that the drama itself is called "the word of the Lord." The representation was a vivid picture, fitted to impress the people who heard it spoken, and as fit to this hour to impress modern readers. It did not change the march of events, but its truth was proved by the facts that followed. In the same way the drama of Genesis is "the word of the Lord," seen in vision, as Micaiah saw, by some ancient seer, whose fuller descriptions may possibly be preserved for us in the books of Job and Proverbs. The drama is not a myth, it is not the invention of an illiterate or designing priest; it is a record of facts, glorified by poetic colour and sublime simplicity, showered on the prophet who saw the vision by "the Spirit that came forth and stood before the Lord," when all "the host of heaven was standing by him on his right hand and on his left."

As the prophet seer looked on the barren earth, he saw the tender shoots of the young grass rush from the repulsive ground, the full-formed stalks with the seed on them, and bushes or trees with matured fruit, whose seed was in itself—each growth after its kind. Spring and summer pass before his eye in this dramatic day. On one thing he lays special stress. How the greenness and beauty, the tender grass and the mature herb arose at first he could not see, and does not say. He knows no origin of life but the command of God. Nor has man to this hour discovered any other. Unquestionably, man has dreamed of the origin of life in the depths of the sea; he has sought it in the heights of heaven; but his speculations have only shown hopeless ignorance, and left him no resource but to fall back on that time-honoured origin, the command of God. But the seer or prophet is equally strong in his view of the spread of life on the dry land. Science assures us that without life preceding no life can follow. There is

nothing self-created but the self-existent One. The seer in Genesis accepts this position: "the tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, after its kind." What science affirms to-day, the drama in Genesis laid down as the order of nature three or four thousand years ago.

Before the curtain of darkness fell upon the now green and beautiful dry land, a voice from the throne or a messenger-herald was heard proclaiming, God saw that it was good. The Creator blesses the wonderful work of His hands. God is seen to be quite distinct from this work of beauty and greenness. He is the Creator; it is the creature, separated from Him by a gulf none can pass but Himself. There is no confounding here of the Maker with the thing made, no bringing down of the former to the level of the latter, no raising up of the latter to the rank and glory of the former. Other forms of faith and philosophy have found or sought hope and peace in this confusion of things. It has no place in the drama of Genesis. All things are of God, is the simple, the sublime teaching of that drama: all things are God or part of God, is the teaching, largely believed in among men, which it condemns. Between the Creator and the creature an impassable gulf is seen to exist. Of the complete severance between the being of God and that of man Hebrew literature is full. A personal God, not pantheism, is the core of its teaching.

SCENE FOURTH.

Sun, Moon, and Stars.

When the curtain of darkness rose for the fourth time and the stage was again lighted, once more is the commanding voice heard, introducing law and beauty more fully on the scene: "God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and

years ; and let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth." The grave, solemn words of this commanding voice, in calling sun and moon into being, condemn some of the worst superstitions to which the human race has been a prey. It is God that speaks ; it is also the loving Father of feeble and misguided men, condemning astrology, sun worship, moon worship, and polytheism, with their host of attendant evils. Spoken or written three or four thousand years ago, in an age of deep darkness, of gross superstition, and of general polytheism, the words cannot be set aside as the dream of a romancer. The light of science and truth has spread over earth since those days, but not the slightest flaw from ignorance or priestly deceit can be detected in the words, which describe the object had in view in the creation of these two lights. The pitfalls that have been avoided are neither few nor shallow. To have stumbled into one of them would have for ever destroyed the writer's claim to be a speaker of "the word of God." There is not a word in them to find fault with. It should rather be said that they embody in the simplest language instruction of the highest utility to deceived and credulous men. They are a veritable "word of the Lord."

In the first place, the words of the drama show the folly of astrology, that fruitful source of deceit, of sorrow, and of crime, in all ages of man's history. Whoever takes thought of the wrong done to humanity all over Europe by the Church's misinterpretation of the text, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," or realises the host of murders, drownings, and burnings committed under show of law, and from regard to that command of God, will be able to form some idea of the escapes made by the nations through the avoidance of error in this part of the drama. The silence in these statements of the prophet-seer is most impressive. They condemn the

dreams of that false science by speaking the truth. And they do this, although the Hebrews lived for many years in Egypt among a people who "considered themselves the first to suggest the idea of foretelling from the natal hour the future fortunes of each new-born infant, the life he was destined to lead, or the death he was fated to die, which were boldly settled by astrological prediction."¹ The two lights, sun and moon, are said to have been appointed for "signs." The literature tells us what the "signs" were, they were marks of God's presence and wonder-working power. Let any one read its magnificent lyric, that old but ever new poem, the nineteenth Psalm, and say if any literature, even the most modern, has found a nobler use or meaning of the word "signs." It is a bright reflection, it is a distinct echo of the drama in Genesis: "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handywork," the object for which the two lights were set in the heavens. There is a stately march of "signs and wonders" here, no freezing torpor of life paralysed by astrological fooleries. Man may deceive himself into the belief that his studies of sun and moon and stars enable him to read the changes in the history of nations and men, hid in the womb of future time, their rise, their growth, their downfall, their death. In past ages all nations cherished this absurd delusion; to this day it is cherished and acted on by multitudes of men; but no countenance whatever is given to it in this drama, or in the literature to which the drama stands as a preface. From sun or moon or stars it holds out no hope of obtaining a clue to the fate of men or nations. How unlike the Egyptians among whom the Hebrews lived, and with whose learning their leader and lawgiver was conversant from his earliest years! "Most carefully," it is said, "they note the movements,

¹ Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 455.

revolutions, and positions of the planets, as well as the influences possessed by each upon the birth of animals, whether productive of good or evil.”¹ They had names and attributes for the planets and some of the stars; the Hebrews do not appear to have known the planets by name. How unlike also the learning of Rome, even when it was leavened more or less with the truth of Christ! Among the Romans, it is said by a contemporary writer, “there are many who do not presume either to bathe or to dine or to appear in public till they have diligently consulted, according to the rules of astrology, the situation of Mercury and the aspect of the moon.”² Long after his time “the truth of astrology was allowed by the best of the Arabian astronomers, who drew their most certain predictions, not from Venus and Mercury, but from Jupiter and the sun.”³ What bondage this was for a community to live in! What dark shadows it threw across a great nation, shadows that stretched from the cradle to the grave! Freedom from the yoke of arithmetical calculations, in this absurd study of stellar influence on man’s life, was unknown among the most civilised and most powerful nations in the ancient world.

The drama of creation in the beginning of Genesis was the preface to a literature which held this abuse of the heavenly bodies in abhorrence, and covered with ridicule those by whom it was practised. “Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels,” that literature called out to the nations. “Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall be as stubble; the fire shall burn them; they shall not deliver themselves from the power of the flame; there shall not be a coal to warm at, nor

¹ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 465. See also iii. 49.

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, iv. 83 (and note). ³ vi. 401 (note).

fire to sit before it . . . none shall save thee." What untold misery has been averted from men by the wise silence regarding astrology, and the plain statement of facts in this drama of the world! A word, a sentence might have produced, among the nations of Europe, sorrows beyond expression. Silence on the one hand, facts on the other, have resulted in freedom from falsehoods and superstition, such as have troubled the lives of millions of men in all ages in other lands. Truly, in this drama of creation we hear and read "the word of the Lord," and "Our Father" speaks.

To avoid astrology by a simple statement of the truth, as is done in this drama, was an unspeakable gift to man in his struggle with darkness; but to assign to the sun and moon and stars their just place in creation was a still greater boon. How simply, how sublimely, it is done! First of all, they are mere creatures called into being by a far mightier than they. The sun and moon are not gods. Enlightened nations, enjoying a literature, a civilisation, a science that lifted them into as high a place as any nation could claim, believed they were gods, called them so, and paid them devoted worship. One of the hymns to Amen-Ra in Egypt runs thus—

The ancient of heaven, the Oldest of the earth,
Lord of all existences, the support of things, the support of all things,

The One in his works, single among the gods,
Chief of all the gods;
Lord of truth, Father of the gods;
Maker of men, Creator of beasts;
Lord of existences, Creator of fruitful trees;
Maker of herbs, Feeder of cattle . . .
The One, alone without peer . . .
The gods rejoice;
The servants of the Sun are in peace.¹

Dying men are thus described in the sacred poetry of

¹ *Records of the Past*, ii, 129.

Assyria: "The man, who is departing in glory, may his soul shine radiant as brass. To that man may the Sun give life"; and, again:

To the Sun, greatest of the gods, may he ascend!
And may the Sun, greatest of the gods, receive his soul into his holy hands!¹

Of the sun and the moon it may truly be said that, in Memphis and On or Heliopolis, in the great cities of Nineveh and Babylon, in Tyre, in Athens, in Rome—seats of power, of refinement, of knowledge—their godhead was published and sworn by. But this drama, and the whole literature to which it forms a preface, reject all such claims for the sun and moon. They are only created things, owning the power of a Master's voice, and submissive to a Master's will.

But the drama guarded against another error, into which the nations fell. It placed the creation of light before the creation of the sun; it showed the dry land clothed with meadows, fruit trees and forests before the sun appeared. Readers of all ages were thus taught that light was older than the sun; and that plant-life was dependent on another source for its being and continuance. The sun rules the day, but he is not the beginning and source of light; he influences plant-life, but he is not its beginning and source. These teachings of the drama run counter to all human experience. They were published in the darkness of a credulous and superstitious age, and nothing similar to them was taught or believed among other nations; but they are now elementary truths of science. God made two great lights. He assigned to them their place; he prescribed their duty—"to divide the light from the darkness." No doubt could remain on a reader's mind that these two lights were servants, not masters; creatures, not gods. God saw that this was good. With Fatherly care of easily

¹ *Records of the Past*, iii. 134, 135.

deceived man, he provided against a flood of future evils, such as swept over the world from the prevalence of superstition and ignorance.

SCENE FIFTH.

Fishes and Birds.

The fifth scene reveals to the audience of the drama the creation of fishes and birds. With our modern views at least, we cannot fail to be surprised at the creation of sun and moon coming in between the covering of the dry land with vegetation, and the peopling of sea and air with life. We are more disposed to accept the view taken in the hymn to Amen-Ra, quoted above—the sun first, men and beasts and herbs afterwards. And it is also singular, while it is equally left without explanation, the joining of fishes and fowl in one day's work: God said, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven."

Three times already was it said of God's handiwork, "God saw that it was good." It was said of the light, of the severance of sea from dry land, of the making of sun and moon. It is said again of the calling into being of fish and fowl: "God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kinds, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that it was good." The crown of this sublimely simple description of creative work is, God saw that it was good. Almighty wisdom is represented in this drama as speaking with man's voice and taking man's view of created nature. It is seen by us to be good: God saw it in the same light. He took pleasure in His works; He stamped on man's mind the same feeling of pleasure, the same idea that it was good. As He saw at first we see now. As He proclaimed at the first that the light, the severance of land from sea, the clothing of the land with

greenness, and the kindling of sun, moon, and stars were good, we publish now in prose and in poetry that they are all good, and whoever makes this proclamation in choicest and most striking words is pronounced likest God by being classed of men among the immortals of our race. What the Father of us all said at the birth of things we, His children, continue to say as the ages roll past, God saw that it was good. A man of genius is astonished at the good and beautiful work of his hands. Is it with this human feeling of astonishment at the growing beauty of creation that the Almighty Maker is said to pass on His works the praise, It was good? Truly, man is made in the image of God.

But, as order, beauty, and life spring up at the commanding voice of the Creator, they are found to be more than good. They call down a blessing. A machine may be good, it may even be very good. Nature is a machine, a very good machine. But a machine does not always call down a blessing. It must be very good to attain to this honour. Such, then, is the next step in the round of honours blazoned forth in the drama of creation: "God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth," or dry land.¹ Not a word is yet said of any check on this increase of animal life. The stage is gay with living creatures, filling earth and air in ever-increasing multitudes. Nature, "red in tooth and claw," is not presented to view; nothing is seen or heard of but its wonderful power of peopling sea and air with varied life. The blessing is working; no curse has been uttered; death is hid from view, or is unknown. "God saw that it was good," with the goodness of the golden age.

JAMES SIME.

¹ Compare verses 9 and 22.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED SAYINGS OF
JESUS. BY PROFESSOR ADOLF HARNACK,
BERLIN.

(Authorised Translation.)

II.

THE LOGIA AND THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS.

WE may now give a translation of the Sayings:—

1. . . . *And then see clearly to draw out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.*

2. *Jesus saith : Except ye fast in regard to the world, ye shall not find the kingdom of God ; and except ye keep the Sabbath rightly, ye shall not behold the Father.*

3. *Jesus saith : I stepped into the midst of the world, and in the flesh appeared I unto them, and I found them all drunken, and I found no one among them thirsting, and My soul is sore troubled ("suffereth") for the children of men, because they are blind in their hearts (and see not) . . . the poverty.*

4. *Jesus saith : Wheresoever they may be, there are they not without God, and according as one is alone, in the same way am I with him ; raise (lift) up the stone, and there shalt thou find Me ; split the wood, and I am there.*

5. *Jesus saith : A prophet is not welcome in his own city, neither doth a physician work cures on them that know him.*

6. *Jesus saith : A city which is built and firmly founded on the top of a high hill can neither fall nor be hid.*

7. *Jesus saith : Thou hearest (or, hear).*

In the first place, we can say definitely what this fragment is not.

1. It is no survival of that original Gospel, consisting chiefly of words of the Lord, which has been justly assumed as a main source of Matthew and Luke. The third Saying, for example, with its introduction, *ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς*, forbids such a supposition. For our Matthew and Luke could not have retained the type they display if their main source had introduced Jesus speaking as He does here.

2. Our fragment is, further, no part of the Papian collection of the Lord's sayings. For such a collection Papias never formed. Rather did he take the Gospels as the foundation of his exegetical work, and it was only for the *illustration* of evangelic sayings that he used in the proper place traditions or sayings of the Lord which were current either orally or in writing.

3. Neither is our fragment a portion of, or an extract from, a Gnostic Gospel. For it contains nothing of a Gnostic character, in the sense of Dualism, Docetism, or Pantheism, neither does it point in this direction. It is true we do not know a case in early Christian, but non-Gnostic Gospels, in which Christ is made to assert His own Divine nature in this particular way. But a Gospel cannot be called Gnostic simply because of this feature.

4. Our fragment, as it stands, is not, (or, at any rate, most probably is not), a leaf torn out of any Gospel. But it is an excerpt from a writing of that kind made with intention, that is to say, with a well-defined purpose. Against the supposition that it is a leaf torn out of a Gospel we have the following considerations: (a) the complete want of connection between the Sayings; it is simply impossible to discover any inward principle in their combination; the Sayings are neither very difficult, and therefore

requiring interpretation, nor can their "picturesque force" be regarded as a bond of connection. If, however, we recall the fact that in Luke (and even in Matthew) several verse-groups may be found which are likewise without any interdependence, then we have to remark (b) that in the fragment before us *each* Saying is introduced by the impressive λέγει Ἰησοῦς. But such an introduction would be more than surprising if we had before us a fragment of a Gospel. Finally (c), the fourth Saying shows clearly that it is taken from a larger context; for we have to supply the fact that the Lord is here speaking of His disciples.¹

If it be shown from these considerations that the fragment is a collection of extracts (and, accordingly, not an unaltered fragment of a particular collection of apophthegms), on the other hand, there is no proof for the assumption that it was penned for merely private or scholarly purposes. The solemn repetition of λέγει Ἰησοῦς before (or, ? after) each Saying is not usually employed in Greek collections of apophthegms, or *catenæ*; in these it would run (τοῦ) Ἰησοῦ or τοῦ αὐτοῦ: λέγει Ἰησοῦς, on the other hand, points to the Semitic manner. The phrase, therefore, cannot well be explained otherwise than by supposing that the collection was intended for public use. Further, our MS. has the appearance of a copy, rather than of an autograph, of such a collection.²

5. If our fragment is a collection of extracts, it is further certain that they have not been extracted out of the canonical Gospels. Such a supposition would be possible only in the case of the first Saying; all the others forbid it. Now it is certainly possible that the Sayings were brought to-

¹ In the other cases also there is no indication of the occasion; this cannot be primary; the compiler was concerned only with the Saying, and he left out the occasion.

² The simple Ἰησοῦς is moreover a sign of great antiquity; in quotations of the second century ὁ κύριος is commonly used.

gether from different sources, but the idea is not probable. For Sayings 2-4 have nothing whatever to do with the canonical Gospels in their general scope, though in a free way they recall certain of their phrases. The fifth and sixth Sayings come very close to the Gospels, and yet cannot have been directly drawn from them, while the first Saying, in so far as it is preserved, is identical with Luke 6. 42. This being the situation, we must bear in mind that the three new Sayings are not indeed without any internal connection (thus each of the three contains points of relation with the fourth Gospel¹); further, that while the sixth recalls Matthew with a reminiscence of Luke, the fifth recalls Luke with a reminiscence of Matthew, and the seventh is wholly Lucan; and lastly that in the third we actually find an expression which appears only in Mark. Bearing all this in mind, it appears most probable that the fragment is a collection of extracts out of a single Gospel, which belongs, at least in regard to its ground-work, to the Synoptic tradition, whether it were an independent stem or a dependent branch.

If this hypothesis, (namely, that we have here to do with extracts out of a single Gospel, not Gnostic, but related to our canonical Gospels,) must be held to be well founded and the most probable one, then we have no great choice before us. If, that is to say, we remember that this Papyrus comes from Egypt, that it belongs to the third century (according to the editors, to the very beginning of that century), and to all appearance is not the autograph, so that its original may be considerably older than itself, then every one who knows will grant that only the Gospel of the Egyptians and the Gospel of Peter can be thought of.²

¹ In the first, *κόσμος* and *ὁψέσθε τὸν πατέρα*; in the second, *ἐν σαρκὶ ὡφθῆναι* and *διψῶντα*; in the third, the parallelism of *οὐκ ἄθεοι* and *ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ*.

² The Gospel of the Hebrews is excluded by Saying 2 (allegorical application of the Sabbath-commandment) and by Saying 3 (spiritualising Christology).

The only reason why the latter need even be thought of is because we have recently recovered a fragment of it from Egypt, and because it is known to Origen. But we do not know where Origen made acquaintance with it, and the fragment in question belongs to the eighth century at the earliest. How much literary interchange took place before that time! On the other hand, the Gospel of the Egyptians is variously attested for Egypt for the period from A.D. 160 downwards.

The editors were, therefore, quite right in thinking first of all of this Gospel; indeed they laid hold of this hypothesis with a certain confidence, from which one might have expected that they would adhere to it.¹ But, whether they have not weighed with sufficient care what is known about the Gospel of the Egyptians, or whether they did not wish to anticipate and exclude other more attractive hypotheses, they have allowed the Gospel of the Egyptians to drop, or at least to sink to the position of one possibility amongst many.

If, however, we carefully combine all that we know of the Gospel of the Egyptians, the supposition that this fragment has been extracted from it can be raised to a very considerable degree of probability. Why and for what purpose the extracts were made, cannot be quite clearly made out. But if we bear in mind that the Sayings here extracted are different from the canonical ones² or else entirely new, and if we consider further that the Gospel of the Egyptians must have corresponded in great parts of it with our Canonical Gospels (see below), then it is natural

¹ P. 16: "Taking 140 A.D. as the *terminus ad quem*, and postponing for the present the question of the *terminus a quo*, we proceed to consider the possibility, which the provenance of the papyrus naturally suggests, that our fragment may come from the 'Gospel according to the Egyptians.'"

² There is nothing to prevent the supposition that the first Saying, of which only the conclusion identical with Luke is preserved, did not correspond with the Synoptics in the beginning or in the middle.

to suppose that here we have extracted from that Gospel such Sayings as are not found in the canonical ones, but seemed to the compiler both trustworthy and valuable.

The Gospel of the Egyptians has been discussed by me at length in the *Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, vol. i., pp. 612-622; I collect here the results of these investigations.

(1) The name *Εὐαγγέλιον κατ' Αἰγυπτίους* is used by the Naassenes in Hippolytus, by Clement, Origen and Epiphanius (or by his sources). It is the title of a book, and arose in Egypt itself. This Gospel never had an author's name prefixed to it.

(2) The title cannot be without some relation to the book, *Εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίους*, which also was read in Egypt at a very early period, probably received this title there, and also bore no author's name.

(3) If the Christians in Egypt (not heretics) at one time possessed two Gospels, one of which they called *καθ' Ἑβραίους* and the other *κατ' Αἰγυπτίους*, that shows that they possessed them *before* the canonical Gospels which were furnished with the names of Apostolic authors. For such Gospels would not have been able either to force their way into circulation or to establish themselves alongside of Gospels bearing the names of Apostles. On the contrary the former would of necessity give way gradually before the canonical Gospels, as is proved to this day by the historical evidence.

(4) The Gospel of the Egyptians was used (a) by Theodotus, the Egyptian pupil of Valentinus (apparently alongside of the Canonical Gospels); (b) by the Egyptian "Encratites," whose leader and literary representative, Cassian, appeals of preference to a passage in this Gospel (the Encratites, however, were not originally a sect, but a School within the Church which became a sect by a gradual

process of exclusion on the part of the Church); (c) by the Roman Bishop Soter, the author of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, who made copious use of this Gospel (probably along with the Synoptics) about A.D. 170. This shows that the Gospel was neither heretical nor Gnostic. For otherwise its character would certainly have been detected at Rome in 170. It further shows that the Gospels must have enjoyed great respect and no inconsiderable circulation, since it had come as far as Rome and was there reckoned among the evangelic writings used in public worship.¹ This position, it is true, it had to surrender after a few years in favour of the *τετράμορφον*, which no longer permitted the existence of anything of an evangelic character alongside of itself. It was further used (d) by the Naassenes (where? perhaps in Egypt); (e) by the Sabellians in the Pentapolis, who favoured it because of its modalism (the Sabellians were originally not a heretical sect, but representatives of a particular Christological doctrine within the Church); (f) by Clement of Alexandria, who indeed expressly remarks that this Gospel does not stand in line with "the four Gospels handed down to us by tradition," but at the same time held it to be trustworthy, upheld it even in regard to a particularly curious Pericope, and defended it against the charge of essential Encratism; (g) by Origen, who reckoned it among the false Gospels, the list of which he heads with this one. The history of the book, which at this point disappears without a trace from the ecclesiastical field of view, lies so

¹ The comparative modalism of the Gospel (see below) would be found objectionable least of all in Rome, and a community which read *Hermas*, *Simil. I.*, as a prophetic announcement could not yet, even in 170, take umbrage at the Encratism of the book (see below). That the book was read at Rome under the title of the Gospel of the Egyptians is *a priori* improbable. This name must have been given to it in Egypt, because it was used there, not by the Jewish Christians, who read the Gospel of the Hebrews, but by the Coptic Gentile-Christians as their Gospel.

clearly before us in the above chain of witnesses, that there is no necessity to display it. That the Gospel was used by heretics amongst others, is naturally no proof of its heretical character. For the Canonical Gospels also were diligently used, and regarded as sacred, by Gnostics.

(5) It follows from its history that the Gospel of the Egyptians cannot have come into existence later than the first third of the second century. The *terminus a quo*, however, remains uncertain.

(6) Concerning the contents of the Gospel we have the following information :—

(i.) The Sayings to be immediately adduced, which have come down to us as part of its contents, show that it was in general of a Synoptic character, and bore the Synoptic stamp in both form and contents, and, indeed, that *it corresponded more closely now with Matthew and now with Luke*. It is impossible to say that it stood nearer to the one than to the other.

(ii.) In its Christology, however, it not only followed the higher spiritualising form (in distinction to the Synoptists but in harmony with John); but there must also have been passages in it which could be understood in a distinctly modalist sense; for the Sabellians appealed to this Gospel in support of their doctrine that Father, Son, and Spirit were the same.¹

(iii.) Epiphanius (or his authority), who relates this, relates also that in this Gospel *πολλὰ τοιαῦτα* (i.e. such as modalism) *ὡς ἐν παραβύστω* (i.e. not belonging to the main character of the book, which was Synoptic; see above) *μυστηριωδῶς* (i.e. not in mere dry statements) *ἐκ τοῦ*

¹ From Epiph., *Hær.* 62. 2, it may be inferred with probability that the Saying *οἱ δύο ἐν ἑσμέν* was found in the Gospel of the Egyptians. This Saying has escaped even the wide scope of Resch's search. It is moreover curious that among the fragments of the Gospel of the Egyptians which have come down to us, we actually find *ἔσται (γενήσεται) τὰ δύο ἐν* as a Saying of the Lord, though in a quite different connection, and with a future tense, which is to be noted.

προσώπου τοῦ σωτῆρος (*i.e.* in the form of a word of the Lord, not as a reflection of the writer) ἀναφέρεται: and particularly that modalism was contained in it in the form of Sayings of the Lord (? a Saying of the Lord), in fact, αὐτοῦ δηλοῦντος τοῖς μαθηταῖς.

(iv.) Hippolytus relates that the Naassenes based their speculations about the soul on the Gospel of the Egyptians, though he does not say in what way they did so. We know well enough, however, *e.g.* from Irenæus, how much the Gnostics discovered in Sayings of the Lord.

(v.) The old and once influential party of the Encratites continued to use this Gospel in Egypt after the Church had dropped it. It follows that it was of a character to give support to Encratism. This is further confirmed by a remarkable passage in the book which has been preserved. But the fact that Cassian and Theodotus emphasized this passage only, further, that Soter also made use of it (certainly of that half of it which is less open to suspicion), and yet again that Clement, who had no Encratite leanings whatever, defended both this passage and the whole book against the charge of extreme Encratism,—these facts show that the Gospel cannot have been written with the purpose of propagating such Encratism, but that the preaching of abstinence, even of the most extreme kind, must have been but one of its elements, though it may have been a very important one. But this is also *one* of the elements, and, in my judgment, a very important one, in the Sayings of the Lord in Luke, however true it may be that the emphasis laid on abstinence in *one* passage in the Gospel of the Egyptians is peculiar, and goes beyond the limit of Luke. But how many single points are there to be found in the Synoptic Gospels which are peculiar, and would, if they turned up on a sheet of papyrus to-day, be unhesitatingly rejected by thorough-going disciples of Matthew and Luke!

The following Sayings from the Gospel of the Egyptians have been preserved :¹—

(1) *Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· Ἐὰν ᾗτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιήτε τὰς ἐντολὰς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν· ὑπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας* (II. Clem. 4. 5). The introduction is quite new; the second half is more closely related to Luke 13. 27 than to Matt. 7. 23.

(2) *Λέγει ὁ κύριος· Ἔσεσθε ὡς ἄρνια ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει· Ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἄρνια; Εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Μὴ φοβέσθωσαν τὰ ἄρνια τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά. καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτένοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός* (II. Clem. 5. 2 f.). A Saying of the Lord not otherwise known. It is in part related to Matt. 10. 28 (Luke 12. 4, 5), and corresponds at the beginning with Luke 10. 3.

(3) *Λέγει ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· Εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτε ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν* (II. Clem. 8. 5). A Saying that is not found in the Gospels, but corresponds partly with Luke 16. 10 and Matt. 25. 21-23.

(4) *Τῇ Σαλώμῃ πυνθανομένη, μέχρι πότε θάνατος ἰσχύσει, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· Μέχρις ἂν ὑμεῖς αἱ γυναῖκες τίκτετε· ἦλθον γὰρ καταλῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας. Καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη ἔφη αὐτῷ· Καλῶς οὖν ἐποίησα μὴ τεκοῦσα; Ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμέψατο λέγων· Πᾶσαν φάγε βοτάνην, τὴν δὲ πικρίαν ἔχουσιν μὴ φάγῃς. Πυνθανομένης δὲ τῆς Σαλώμης πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ*

¹ Of the eleven evangelic quotations in the Second Epistle of Clement there are three which I do not claim for our Gospel (c. 2. 4; 6. 1; 6. 2), seeing that they correspond word for word with Matt. 9. 13 (Mark 2. 17), Luke 16. 13, and Matt. 16. 26 (Mark 8. 36). And yet there must remain at least the possibility that they belong to the Gospel of the Egyptians. But I take in the four quotations in c. 3. 2; 4. 2; 9. 11; 13. 4 because of the distinct balance of probability that they are cited from this Gospel.

περὶ ὧν ἤρετο (*i.e.*, when the Kingdom of God shall come), ἔφη ὁ κύριος· "Ὅταν οὖν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐνδυμα πατήσητε, καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἔν, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ (Cassian in Clement, Theodotus in Clement, Clement himself, Soter). The conversation cannot be restored with entire certainty; ¹ it is wholly new.

(5) Λέγει καὶ αὐτός· Τὸν ὁμολογήσαντά με, ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου (II. Clem. 3. 2). This Saying is closely related to Matt. 10. 32 (Luke 12. 8).

(6) Λέγει· Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι, κύριε, κύριε, σωθήσεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην (II. Clem. 4. 2). This Saying is related to Matt. 7. 21 (Luke 6. 46).

(7) Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· Ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου (II. Clem. 9. 11). This Saying is related to Matt. 12. 49 (Mark 3. 35) and Luke 8. 21).

(8) Λέγει ὁ θεός·² Οὐ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς (II. Clem. 13. 4). This Saying has an echo of Luke 6. 32, 35.

Such is the amount of our knowledge of the Gospel of the Egyptians up to the present. Let us now compare with these results the Sayings before us:—

(1) It has been already remarked above that, on external grounds, their origin is first of all to be sought for in the Gospel of the Egyptians.

(2) Like the Gospel of the Egyptians, these Sayings bear in general the Synoptic stamp (see the Commentary).

(3) Although only six Sayings have been preserved, we may say that their relation to Luke and Matthew is precisely the same as that of the extant Sayings from the

¹ Soter (II. Clem. 12. 2) gives the following from this conversation: 'Ἐπερωτηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τινος· Ἦότε ἔξει (αὐτοῦ) ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν· "Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἔν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ . . . : ταῦτα ὑμῶν ποιοῦντων ἐλεύσεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρός μου.

² This striking formula of quotation is very readily explained by the character of the Gospel of the Egyptians leaning towards modalism.

Gospel of the Egyptians. They stand in closer relation now to the one Gospel and now to the other.

(4) The Gospel of the Egyptians was a special favourite of the Encratites in Egypt, and they held fast to it even after the Church had excluded it from the sacred writings. These Sayings contain one distinctly Encratite passage (*ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον*), and one which is rigorously severe in its judgment on mankind (*ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου . . . καὶ εὗρον πάντας μεθύοντας*).

(5) The Gospel of the Egyptians contained a Christology of a higher spiritualising kind, which indeed came near to Modalism, and that not in the form of reflections by the author, but of Sayings of the Lord (*αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δηλοῦντος τοῖς μαθηταῖς τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα, κτλ.* In our Sayings Jesus Himself says to the disciples: *ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς*, and thereby indirectly describes Himself as a Divine Being. But still further, the fourth Saying expresses a complete parallel between "to be with God" and "to be with Him, Christ." There we have a passage which can be very readily expounded in a modalist sense. But seeing that, according to the testimony of Epiphanius, the Lord expressed His own witness to Himself in the Gospel of the Egyptians in such a way as to emphasise the closest unity with the Father, we must be prepared to find that the Gospel stands related on one side to the Gospel of John, although at the same time a literary dependence on that Gospel is not necessarily to be assumed. Now in these Sayings—not in those of the Gospel of the Egyptians hitherto known—we find the idea of the *κόσμος* as the combination of all that which men are to deny themselves; we find the phrase *οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα*, the phrase *ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς*, the pregnant expression *ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ*, and the word *διψῶντα*.

(6) Epiphanius says that in the Gospel of the Egyptians were contained *πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς ἐν παραβύστῳ μυστηριωδῶς*

ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ σωτῆρος. In the fragments previously known to us we have a sufficient proof of this in the dialogue between the Lord and Salome. But a sentence like that in our Sayings, ἔγειρον [ἐξᾶρον] τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐὺρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ εἰμί could be understood—especially in the third and fourth centuries—only in a mystical sense, and was bound to lead to very suspicious conclusions. For who at that time was likely to suppose that Christ could have spoken quite simply of hard and solitary daily toil? And that other Saying, ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου, must very early have led speculative minds into speculative errors; while σαββατίζειν τὸ σάββατον is also said μυστηριωδῶς.

In all their assignable relations, therefore, these six Sayings agree with what we know of the Gospel of the Egyptians, and nowhere is there any sign of a discrepancy. Hence it appears to be almost a precept of historical criticism: *the new Sayings are extracts from the Gospel of the Egyptians*. For it cannot be supposed that any other Gospel still unknown to us, from which the Logia might have been derived, corresponded so closely with the Gospel of the Egyptians.

If anyone glances over the Sayings from the Gospel of the Egyptians, previously discovered, and these new Sayings too, he cannot feel any doubt that, in spite of all divergences, there is here a very close relation to the Synoptic Gospels, and that the Gospel of the Egyptians must be reckoned part of the *original* evangelic literature in the strict sense of the word. The Hebraising character is also stamped as strongly as it could be upon this Gospel, and in diction, particles, and syntax it displays little, if any, difference from the Synoptics; indeed, it lies vastly nearer to them than does the fourth Gospel. But as soon as we raise the question whether the relation to the Synoptics is

to be taken to show that they were the source of the Gospel of the Egyptians, or whether this Gospel derives from the sources of the Synoptics, then our difficulties begin. In my *Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur* I have accepted the second of these positions, and I hold to it. But since in my judgment the new fragments contribute nothing to the decision of this question, I do not refer to it further.

Apart from the question of the sources and historical intermediaries, another question may be raised concerning the historical value, the primary, secondary, or tertiary character of the new fragments. Whatever may be our judgment on this question, it does not decide the question of literary relationship. For, along with considerable dependence upon the four canonical Gospels, a stream of good primary tradition might still have flowed in besides; and, conversely, along with complete independence as regards Luke and Matthew, and with a substructure of the very first rank, the elaborated result might still be very far removed from the original. Now what is the position of our Sayings in this regard?

Unhappily, not much can be said of a satisfactory kind, although there is nothing grotesque, and in this sense nothing apocryphal, in these Sayings. Where they correspond with the Synoptics they may claim our appreciation, but when they deviate from them they are, in my opinion (with the exception of a few certainly important phrases), secondary or even tertiary. The first may be passed over; it coincides with a Synoptic Saying. In the second the allegorical reference given to *νηστεύειν* and *σαββατίζειν* is certainly not primary (rather is it strongly Gentile-Christian). Neither is *κόσμος* nor *οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα* likely to be primary. In the third, the whole of the theological introduction is tertiary, the section *μεθύοντες—διψῶν* certainly not primary, and Jesus labouring "for mankind" is surely secondary. In the sixth the duplicated motive which overloads the

figure is also secondary. What is left is the phrase *πνεῦ
ῆ ψυχῇ μου* in 3, *εὐρεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ* in 2,
the second half of 5, and Saying 4, although with a
certain limitation. This Saying not only finds strong
support in Tatian ("Ubi unus est, ibi et ego sum"),
but it is very difficult to understand its appearance in
the next period; for this period was too definitely
world-renouncing to have invented such a concrete pre-
sentment of an idea in itself not alien to its thinking.
And yet we may not accept the *Christological* conception
of the Saying with complete certainty. If it is certain
that the Gospel of the Egyptians set God and Christ
metaphysically closer together than the Synoptic Gospels
or even the Gospel of John did, then it may well be asked
whether the emphasis on the presence of Christ was not a
peculiarity of the author of this Gospel, and whether the
source that lay before him did not mention God Himself.
But be that as it may; that God (Christ) is to be found not
only in fasting and prayer, but in daily toil, is a proposition
of true value, and it must not be overlooked that we have
an intentional complement to a pessimistic passage in the
"Preacher." We may congratulate ourselves on this en-
richment of the evangelic utterances.

Even though the new fragment contributes nothing to the
elucidation of the Synoptic problem, and but little to our
knowledge of the authentic Sayings of Jesus, in two other
directions it is nevertheless of marked importance: (1) It
brings to our knowledge a Gospel—the fragments hitherto
known by no means made this clear—*which, while it fully
maintained the Synoptic type, put a spiritualising Christology
into the mouth of Jesus Himself.* That gives us a quite
unique parallel to the fourth Gospel. The latter deviates
entirely from the Synoptic type, and shapes it anew, but is
at the same time more reserved in regard to the reception
of theological formulas into the evangelic narrative. Its

theology is prefixed in the Prologue. The supposition lies to hand that the Gospel of the Egyptians has been already influenced by the fourth Gospel. But the fragments hitherto known betray no trace of such influence, and those just discovered do not themselves show so close a relationship as to make the assumption of a *literary* dependence a *necessary* one. (2) It is true that for years past many workers in this field have discussed with me the problem, whence came those wonderful and grotesque Egyptian Gnostic Gospels which reach back to the second half of the second century, if not earlier, and exhibit partly a pan-Christic conception and partly one in which the Christ passes across the stage of this world as a supra-mundane Spirit-Being. These Christologies and "Gospels" must have had some point of attachment and of issue in the early tradition. The Gospel of the Egyptians, as it is made known to us through this new discovery, explains, as it seems to me, this extraordinary phenomenon. For it has a double aspect, and its second, its forward-looking aspect, points to that development in the future. A Gospel which appears in a most antique garb, in which nevertheless Christ says: ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὤφθην αὐτοῖς and ἔγειρον τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐκεί εὐρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ εἰμί, was bound, in a generation of spiritual *finesse* and thirsting for revelation, to let loose an unchecked stream of thoughts and phantasies. If we are not entirely misled, it was this Gospel which gave the impulse to the production of "Gospels," like the Gospel of Eve and those Gospels on which the Pistis Sophia and the writings in the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae are founded.

ADOLF HARNACK.

NOTE BY PROFESSOR ROBINSON.

DR. HARNACK has asked me to add a note to his dissertation on the newly found Sayings of Jesus, in order to give the reasons which had pointed me quite independently to the Gospel according to the Egyptians as a possible source of some at least of these Sayings.¹ The passages to which I shall refer have for the most part been noticed by others as isolated parallels. It is the context in which they are found that seems to me to lend them a special interest.

In the Third Book of the *Stromateis* Clement of Alexandria is defending Holy Matrimony against impugners of two kinds: the abusers of the doctrine of Christian *κοινωνία*, who extended it to include community of wives; and the extreme ascetics, who forbade marriage as unworthy of a true Christian. He argues against each of these errors in turn, as he deals with various Scriptures, canonical and uncanonical, which were employed in their defence. It is with the error on the side of asceticism that we shall be here concerned, and we must pick out the main passages which deal with it.

§ 1. The followers of Basilides use Matthew xix. 10-12 ("eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake"). In refuting their view Clement says (§ 4): ἡμεῖς εὐνουχίαν μὲν καὶ οἷς τοῦτο δεδώρηται ὑπὸ θεοῦ μακαρίζομεν, μονογαμίαν δὲ καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν ἕνα γάμον σεμνότητα θαυμάζομεν, κ.τ.λ. The word *μακαρίζομεν* in this connexion is to be noted.

§ 45. The extreme ascetics cite a conversation of our Lord with Salome: the answer to the question, "How long shall death prevail?" is this: "As long as ye women

¹ Dr. Harnack, whom I had the pleasure of seeing quite recently for the first time in Berlin, begged me also to add on his own behalf a remark which he had intended to have made in his tract. He desires to call attention to the *parallelism between the clauses* in almost all of these Sayings, a parallelism which recalls the method of the Hebrew poetry and the Hebrew proverbial sayings.

bring forth children." The source of the citation is not here stated. Clement explains the words to mean: As long as the present order lasts, in which as the sequence of nature *γένεσις* is followed by *φθορά*.

In § 50 he further discusses the passage about the eunuchs; and in the following sections defends matrimony by the example of Apostles.

In §§ 63-67 he returns to the passage about Salome, and says: *φέρεται δὲ, οἶμαι, ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγελίῳ*. He finds in the further answer of the Lord, "Eat every herb, but that which hath bitterness eat not," the confutation of the argument which the heretics had put upon the earlier words.

Then in § 68 he suddenly asks: "But who are the two and three gathered in the name of Christ, among whom the Lord is in the midst?"¹ He suggests various answers. In the first place he says: "Is it not husband and wife and child that He means by the three? for 'to husband wife is joined by God' (Prov. xix. 14, LXX.)." A similar interpretation of the preceding verse (Matt. xviii. 19, "If two of you shall agree," etc.) is mentioned by Origen as propounded by one of his predecessors (*Comm. in Matth.*, t. 14, c. 2; *Ru.* iii. 617). The heretics with whom Clement is dealing interpret the meaning of Christ to be that "with the many is the demiurge, the god of *genesis*, but with the one, the elect, is the Saviour, who is Son of another God, to wit, the good God" (*βούλεσθαι γὰρ λέγειν τὸν κύριον ἐξηγούνται μετὰ μὲν τῶν πλείονων τὸν δημιουργὸν εἶναι τὸν γεγεσιουργὸν θεόν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐκλέκτου τὸν σωτῆρα, ἄλλου δηλονότι θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ υἱὸν πεφυκότα*). Clement declares, on the contrary, that the same God is with those who

¹ *τίνες δὲ οἱ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν ὀνόματι χριστοῦ συναγόμενοι, παρ' οἷς μέσος ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος*. It is just worth while to point to the coincidence in respect of *παρ' οἷς* with the notable reading of Matt. xviii. 20 in Codex Bezae: *οὐκ εἰσὶν γὰρ δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν δνομα, παρ' οἷς οὐκ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν*.

marry in sobriety and beget children, and with him who exercises continence according to reason. He then suggests alternative interpretations of "the three," such as *θυμός*, *ἐπιθυμία*, and *λογισμός*; or, again, *σάρξ*, *ψυχή*, and *πνεῦμα*. Stress appears to be laid on the "gathering together," the union of the *τριάς*, as he calls it, whatever its component parts may be interpreted to be.

He is still struggling with the interpretation in § 70, where he suggests a new possibility: "Or perhaps *with the one*, the Jew, the Lord was in giving the law; but in prophesying and sending Jeremiah to Babylon, and yet further in calling those of the Gentiles through prophecy, he was *gathering* peoples (who were) *the two*; and a *third* was being created out of the two unto a new man, in whom indeed He walks and dwells, to wit, in the Church.

It seems hard to think that the passage in S. Matthew's Gospel is the sole basis of this discussion. It seems as though the heretics in question had got hold of some passage which distinctly said that the Lord was "*with the one*." That there was such a Saying current, we know from Ephraem's Commentary on the *Diatessaron* ("where there is one, there am I"): and we have a new parallel now in the recently discovered Sayings. The point to be noted is this: the heretics, who apparently used the Saying in some shape or other, also used the Gospel according to the Egyptians. After refuting their argument based on the words spoken to Salome, Clement passes at once to refute their argument based, as it would seem, on a Saying of Christ which promised His presence to "the one" as contrasted with "the two" or "the three."

Clement has not told us thus far the names of the heretics who thus misused the Sayings of the Lord; he has only described them in general terms as *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλείδου* (§ 1). But in § 91 he refers in particular to Julius Cassianus and his book *Περὶ ἐκρατείας ἡ περὶ*

εὐνουχίας. Clement quotes from this book certain sentences in which Cassianus resists the conclusion that the physical differences between man and woman point to their union as permitted by God. "If such a disposition were from the true God, He would not have pronounced the eunuchs blessed (*οὐκ ἂν ἐμακάρισεν τοὺς εὐνούχους*), nor would the prophet have said that they were 'not a fruitless tree' (Isa. lvi. 2, 3)." In the next section he mentions Cassianus again as having made use of further words spoken by the Lord to Salome. In answering this new argument in § 93 Clement says: "In the first place we do not find the passage in the four Gospels which have been handed down to us, but in that according to the Egyptians." But none the less he goes on to show that it is capable of a perfectly satisfactory explanation. Cassianus, then, discussed the question of the true eunuchs, and quoted the Gospel according to the Egyptians. This makes it probable that it is to his work that Clement has been referring in the earlier sections.

In § 98 Clement quotes the passage of Isaiah to which reference has already been made: *Μὴ λεγέτω ὁ εὐνούχος ὅτι ξύλον εἰμι ξηρόν· τάδε λέγει ὁ κύριος τοῖς εὐνούχοις. Ἐὰν φυλάξητε τὰ σάββατά μου καὶ ποιήσητε πάντα ὅσα ἐντέλλομαι, δώσω ὑμῖν τόπον κρεῖττονα υἱῶν καὶ θυγατέρων*: and he adds, *οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡ εὐνουχία δικαιοῖ, οὐδὲ μὴν τὸ τοῦ εὐνούχου σάββατον, ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσῃ τὰς ἐντολάς*. In the preceding verse in Isaiah we read: *μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀντεχόμενος αὐτῶν καὶ φυλάσσων τὰ σάββατα μὴ βεβηλοῦν*. It is probable that "the eunuch's Sabbath" was interpreted of the restfulness of the unmarried state, as opposed to the distractions of married life (1 Cor. vii. 33). We are thus reminded of another of the new Sayings, to which we shall find a striking parallel in the next section of Clement.

Clement sums up the controversy by giving a wholly

allegorical interpretation to the eunuch of Isaiah lvi. He is the man who has no offspring of truth (ὁ ἄγονος τῆς ἀληθείας). He was formerly a "dry tree," but if he obeys the Word and "keeps the Sabbaths" in refraining from sins, and does the commandments, he shall have a special honour. "For this cause," he says in conclusion, "'a eunuch shall not enter into the congregation of God (Deut. xxiii. 1),' to wit, he that is barren and fruitless in life and word: but 'they that have made themselves eunuchs' from all sin 'for the kingdom of heaven's sake,' these are blessed—even they *who fast from the world* (οἱ τοῦ κόσμου νηστεύοντες)."

An explanation of Clement's line of thought in this section (§ 93) is given at once, if we may suppose that Casianus had been led by the reference to the keeping of the Sabbath by the eunuch to cite the saying which we have now recovered: Ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον (? τοῦ κόσμου), οὐ μὴ εὔρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα. And from what we have seen above he might well have cited it if it stood in the Gospel according to the Egyptians.

I am not at present prepared to say with Dr. Harnack that the newly discovered Sayings are excerpts from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. I must content myself with the statement that such a view is not improbable. But I am glad to have had an opportunity of calling attention to the above-mentioned coincidences. They are remarkable in themselves, and still more remarkable in their context. And they deserve the more attention from the fact that they find no place among the reasons which originally led the editors of the Sayings to suggest the Gospel according to the Egyptians as a possible source, nor among the reasons by which Dr. Harnack maintains the correctness of that suggestion.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.¹

DOGMATIC is that branch of theological science in which Christian doctrine is defined, interpreted, and presented in a systematic form. It is taken for granted that there is such a thing as Christian doctrine, and that it is capable of scientific treatment. There is truth given in the Christian religion, to the experience of the Christian, which, simply because it is true, can be thought out in itself, and in relation to everything else that we know. I do not mean that it is possible for the Christian theologian, or for any other man, actually to co-ordinate the contents of his mind, so that there shall be no loose ends in it at all, no facts guaranteed by their own evidence, yet wanting in connexion with each other, or apparently opposed; but only that in Christianity the mind of man is put in contact with realities which attest themselves to it *as* real, and which it is bound to interpret, to the best of its ability, in consistency with each other, and with all that it knows.

Stated thus, the task of Dogmatic Theology is no doubt extremely difficult as well as extremely comprehensive, and perhaps it is no wonder that attempts have been made to discharge it on easier terms.

On the one hand, Dogmatic has been reduced to a merely historical science. The word *δόγμα*, from which the name is derived, had among other meanings that of a decree, or legal ordinance. The decree of Augustus Cæsar that all the world should be taxed was a *δόγμα*. The prescriptions of the Jewish law which oppressed the conscience were *δόγματα*. It is in this sense, it has been argued, that we can speak of dogmas in the Christian religion. They are

¹ An address on induction to the Professorship of Systematic Theology in the Free Church College, Glasgow.

those propositions which by some formal act of the Church have obtained a legal authority in it. It is the legal authority, and nothing else, which constitutes them dogmas; and dogmatic can only be the science which treats of these legally authoritative propositions in their legal character. It might be a mistake to say that such a science was easy, but it is at least comparatively easy. Even to investigate these legal dogmas historically, to trace their origin, to show the philosophical or other influences which determined their form, to elicit the Christian interest which they were intended or believed to safeguard, may be comparatively easy. But essential as such a science is, it is only auxiliary to a proper dogmatic. Dogmatic does nothing effective if it does not present in scientific form *the truth* of Christianity—a truth which may have attained more or less adequate embodiment in a succession of legal dogmas, but which must, like all truth, have an authority in it higher than any that law can bestow, and making it independent of any legal warrant.

On the other hand, dogmatic has been reduced to a purely philosophical or speculative science. The Greek *δόγμα* was a term not only of the legislature but of the schools. The dogma of Plato or of the Stoics was the whole mode of thinking which had won acceptance among the disciples of Plato or of Zeno. Its authority was not legal, but inherent; its necessary truth, or what seemed such, imposed itself upon open minds. In a similar sense, the dogma of the Christians was spoken of as the whole mode of thinking which prevailed in the Church. But this arose from assimilation of the Church to a philosophical school—from an abstract conception of Christianity which did great injustice to the reality as it existed in the world; and the type of dogmatic which is based upon it is necessarily guilty of the same injustice. It assumes that Christianity is a body of opinions, or a mode of thought, to

which one might have access in the same way as to Platonism or Stoicism; that one may be indifferently, so to speak, an Academic or a Stoic or a Christian. But no one who knows what Christianity is could assent to such an idea.

Both these types of dogmatic—the purely historical and the purely speculative—have to be appreciated for what they are worth.

With the first we say, Christianity *is* historical; but it is a historical *religion*. No series of legal enactments constitutes or explains a religion. We must get behind them all to the convictions which generated them, and to the experience which generated these convictions. When we do, we find ourselves face to face with a historical fact—the presence of Jesus Christ upon the earth. Yet if this historical fact had been merely historical, it is evident that the Christian religion would never have come into being. The first Christians were persons who discovered or had revealed to them in the presence of Jesus Christ upon the earth something more than historical, something eternal and divine. All men did not make this discovery; but some did. It remained hidden from Caiaphas and Pilate; it was disclosed to Peter and John. That power or virtue of the soul which grasps the divine in the historical, and so brings true religion to the birth, is faith. It is not necessary at this point to investigate further the nature or the origin of faith; but we must remember that without it there is no Christianity, and no subject for Christian theology. Unless we have renewed the experience of the first Christians—unless in the exercise of faith we have come into contact, in Christ Jesus, with divine eternal truth—all that is called Christian doctrine must remain unreal to us. We do not know on what it rests; we cannot see what it is about.

Again, to those who argue for a purely speculative dogmatic, we must say, Christianity is no doubt truth, but it

is historical in the first instance ; and it must always seek its norm in its historical original. The claim to construct a purely speculative dogmatic inevitably ends in the setting up of some temporary philosophy as the measure of Christianity. It may be as meagre as the deism of last century ; it may be as imposing as the grandiose speculations of Hegel ; but it is not historical, and in point of fact, it is always poorer than history. Sometimes it presents itself as a legitimate and even a laudable effort "to rationalize the basis of religion" ; but if you enquire what these words mean, you will find that they mean presenting a basis for religion with which Jesus Christ has nothing particular to do. They mean really that history is something of which God can make no use in entering into communion with man. But the assumption with which we start is that the basis of religion is not made by the theologian, it is given by God in Jesus Christ. We cannot admit that it may be defined beforehand in independence of Him. It may be rationalized only in the sense that when once it has been apprehended by the believing soul it becomes his task to set it in relation to the whole contents of his mind ; not in the sense that other experiences are to impose their own limitations upon it. The apprehension of it is conditioned by faith ; but it is not made dubious on that account. On the contrary, the certainty of faith that in Jesus Christ the historical and the eternal are united, and the very truth of God put within the reach of men dwelling on the earth, is the fundamental and specifically Christian experience, without which neither Christian religion nor Christian theology can exist. But the fulness of eternal truth is only given to faith historically, and we must always revert to what we have in Christ as the measure for rationalized religion.

What has just been said serves to give at least a preliminary idea of dogmatic. It is not a historical science, neither is it a philosophical one, though it is indebted both

to history and philosophy ; it is the science of Christian faith—an experience which fills history—and in faith alone do we have experience of the realities which it is the function of dogmatic to interpret, and to present in systematic and intelligible form.

One result of this is, that a true dogmatic must have something personal in it. The truths which it presents are truths of religion, and there is no possibility of presenting them as truths except through and to a mind which is open to religious impression. A system of dogmatic is no doubt one thing, and a personal confession of faith another ; but no dogmatic is worth reading or worth thinking about in which one cannot feel at all the critical places the pulse of vital religion. When we become legal or scholastic, antiquarian or merely speculative, we have lost our way.

But though faith has something personal in it, which must penetrate and vivify dogmatic if it is to be true to its object, it is not on that account private or individualistic. Christian faith from the very first has founded a fellowship. It has been a common faith, and has united men in common experiences. The truth which is revealed in it to the individual is truth which is the common possession of the Church, and the testimony of the Church to the common faith is one of the most important evidences to which the dogmatic theologian appeals.

The expression of the common faith of Christians is to be sought in very various sources. Some are liturgical : there are hymns and prayers in which believing men have given united utterance to their Christian convictions, desires, and hopes. Some are experimental, in a narrower sense. A book like Augustine's *Confessions*, for instance, which has asserted its power over consciences for many centuries, is an authority for Christian faith—its presuppositions, its contents, its consequences—ininitely more valuable than many technical books of theology. The same might be said of

Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*, and in another way of Pascal's *Thoughts*. Not that these are primary sources for dogmatic theology; but they are witnesses to the common faith, and the incomparable energy with which it speaks through them may open the eyes of the theologian to what he would otherwise have missed, and reassure him of what might otherwise have seemed doubtful. The *legal* expressions of the Church's faith, which are to be found in formal creeds or confessions, are of a different character. They cannot be understood until we understand their history, and see the influences which determined the balance of their parts, and the intellectual implements, if one may so speak, which were available for their construction. It is a mistake to lift them out of their historical place, and invest them with a permanent statutory authority. They tell us what the Church, or some great section of the Church, had construed out of its faith at a given stage in the history of the human mind; but there can be no finality in such constructions. They have an authority, indeed, but it is educational, not absolute. They are imposed upon us, in a sense, the moment we are born, and quite apart from our will, for they shape the mind of the Christian community through which Christian faith is mediated to us; but the intent of the community, even in the use it makes of them, is to bring men to maturity, to make them capable of independent appreciation, and therefore of criticism. Hence the creeds and confessions are sources, but not laws, for dogmatic theology. Faith comes to us, no doubt, as an inheritance, yet it is a new birth in every man; and he who lives by faith does not live under law. Sympathetic faith will find in the confession under which it has been nurtured a weighty testimony to the essential truths of the Christian religion; yet it may find also, and may with all loyalty to the Church say that it has found, inconsistent or unchristian elements inadvertently bound up with these, or

positions laid down as essential to Christianity which wider experience or more matured reflection show to be really indifferent. No one has more need than the dogmatic theologian to cultivate the spirit which is appreciative equally of what has been and of what is yet to be. One sometimes meets a preacher who lives under an intense impression that he has discovered the Christian religion. Perhaps he has ; perhaps he never knew anything about it before. But if that is so, it is safe to say that he knows very little about it yet. He has made a very unfortunate discovery if it is one that alienates him from the great past of Christianity, and makes him unable to see the presence of Christ in it, or to appreciate its faith, or to elicit its testimony to the truth. One can hardly tell whether bondage to the past is not to be preferred to this ; whether it is not better to be the servile heir of all the ages, than the most emancipated disinherited man. But however that may be, the dogmatic temper must be equally remote from both extremes. It must be the temper of a man who belongs to his own time, who is sensitive to all the intellectual influences which breathe around him, but who is at the same time, in virtue of his Christian faith, quickly and keenly sympathetic with all that is Christian in the past, and especially with all endeavours to work out the contents of faith into some kind of Christian science.

Behind all other sources for dogmatic theology there stands, of course, Holy Scripture. In one sense Scripture, or let us say for the moment the New Testament, may be regarded as the earliest Christian confession. Every word in it was written by believing men ; it was written out of their faith ; it is the ultimate because the original testimony to what faith is. It shows us what the first believers had in Christ, with what realities faith filled their minds, in what world of truth it enabled them to live. That such a document is in some peculiar sense authoritative will be

apparent at a glance. But two remarks must be made here, to remove possible misunderstandings. The first is, that even the New Testament is not a *legal* authority for the dogmatic theologian. He does not find the material he is to use lying in it ready to his hand, and only waiting to be lifted. Even if the material is there, as undoubtedly and substantially it is, it is not there in the form which is appropriate to his purpose. It is not there as part of the system into which he is elaborating the contents of faith; and though every part of that system has to be vindicated by having its connexion with Scripture, as the primary witness to the faith, made good, no part of it—if for no other reason than that it *is* part of a system—can be vindicated simply by appeal to the Scripture text. The essential content of faith must certainly be discoverable in Scripture if our faith is to answer to historical Christianity; but the parts of a dogmatic system neither can be nor need to be demonstrated from Scripture in detail. Their true proof is that they are integral parts of a whole, the generative principle of which is the same faith which the New Testament exhibits. The other remark I wish to make is this, that the authority of the New Testament for the dogmatic theologian depends on its being an authentic testimony to the faith of the primitive Church. In other words, it depends upon its Apostolic character; and it is to the Apostolic writings that, as a theologian, I go back. It is fashionable at the present moment to speak of going back to Christ, and of finding in His *ipsissima verba*, or, as it has been otherwise expressed, in His consciousness, the measure and the test of the truth with which theology has to deal. There has been much earnest pleading for this point of view, not to mention a considerable amount of cheap rhetoric, about the absurdity of postponing the master to the disciples; but I am convinced that it rests upon a profound misapprehension. Dogmatic theology is

the science of Christian faith—the science which draws out, interprets, and develops the truth with which the believing mind comes into contact in Jesus Christ. The view just referred to, according to which the words of Jesus become a legal standard by which to test (and usually to discredit) the words of the Apostles, means in the last resort that Jesus was the first and the only perfect Christian, the Apostles being Christians of a later, more limited, and more perplexed type. But surely it is far truer to say that Jesus was not a Christian at all in the sense in which we are, and that the typical Christian is the Apostle, not the Master. The specifically Christian consciousness which has to be scientifically developed by the theologian is not the consciousness of Jesus, it is the consciousness of reconciliation to God through Jesus. It is not the consciousness of the Saviour, but the consciousness of the saved, and the confession of it is not the confession of the Lord, but of the Church. I cannot understand how any one should imagine that this is disparaging to Christ. I am confident it is the only manner of proceeding which gives Christ His glory. It is the only one which secures Him in His place as the object of faith, one with the Church, no doubt, as its head, but as its Redeemer, in a place of dignity which no one can share. To appeal to Jesus against the Apostles is injurious both to Him and them. It is injurious to Him, for it practically disregards the promises which He made to the Apostles as He was leaving them, promises which He surely fulfilled. On the one hand, there was a promise of increased spiritual power: “He that believeth on Me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go to the Father.” On the other, there was a promise of increased spiritual illumination: “I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now: howbeit, when He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He shall guide you

into all the truth." Nothing, we might think, could be more paradoxical, or even more preposterous; but it is a paradox for both parts of which we have Christ's express word, that after His departure the Apostles would wield greater spiritual forces than He had had at His disposal while on earth, and that they would be in a position to preach the Gospel with a fulness and completeness that had been impracticable for Him. Yet these amazing results of His departure were *His* doing; it was *His* Spirit which clothed the Apostles with power, and interpreted to them the reconciling love of God in the cross; and instead of regarding Jesus and the Apostles as teachers of Christianity who are relatively independent of each other, we must rather regard the Apostolic testimony to the Lord as His final testimony to Himself. It is His glory, as He Himself declares; and to appeal from it to His words, the words He spoke on earth, is in principle to forget His glory, to forget that He is the Lord and Giver of the Spirit, to forget His exaltation, to regard Him as a historical Teacher of religion, instead of as the living Head of the Church, the present, the eternal, King of Grace. And as it is injurious to Christ, so is it to the Apostles. In principle it charges them with bearing a testimony to Christ which Christ is compelled to decline. Yet it is to them we owe everything we know of Christ. The contents of the Gospels were part of their testimony to Him. It is another part, not inconsistent with this, at least to *their* consciousness, that we find in what we call their own independent writings; and it is in these writings that what is fundamentally and characteristically Christian first stands out in perfect clearness—the consciousness of reconciliation to God through the atoning death of Jesus and His gift of the Holy Ghost. There is *no* Christian faith known to the New Testament, there is none, I venture to say, known to the Christian Church, at any period of its

history, which does not rest on this. But if this be so (as it is), and if it be in accordance with Christ's promise (as it is), then there is no call to make a schism in the New Testament, nor to seek in the words of Jesus a higher authority for Christian theology than we have in the testimony of the Apostles to their own faith in Him. There is a real danger, in this desire to make a law out of the words of Jesus, that we discredit historical Christianity from its birth, and on the plea of exalting the Teacher deprive ourselves of the Saviour, the Holy Ghost, and the New Testament. I hold with the creeds that there is no true Church, and therefore no true faith but that which is Apostolic; and that the truth enshrined in the faith of the Apostles is the inmost truth with which theology has to deal.

When the nature of dogmatic has been so far determined, and a preliminary idea of the sources from which it is to be drawn has been obtained, the task of the theologian can be more clearly defined. He must begin by such an analysis of faith as will enable him to exhibit the religious principle of Christianity, out of which every part of the dogmatic system may be deduced, and to which every part of it may be referred. This religious principle, which, as the essential content of faith, possesses its primary certainty and authority, is sometimes spoken of as the fundamental dogma. The name is not inappropriate, if we remember to exclude from it any legal associations, and to invest it with all the authority of faith indeed, but with that alone.

The determination of the religious principle, or fundamental dogma, of Christianity, as involved in faith, will suggest, at least in outline, the programme of study.

It must begin with establishing the relation between Christianity and the other forms of religion which have existed in the world. After what has been said already, it will not be imagined that the independence of Christianity is to be called in question. Its authority is in itself; in the faith

in which it lives, in the experiences to which it introduces men, and the achievements it enables them to perform. But it is not the only thing in the world known as religion; and it is necessary to consider the phenomena of religion as a whole, and their relation to that which we hold to be the absolute religion. We hear a great deal of the history of religion; but it is a fair question, and, I think, a serious one, whether, apart from its revealed form, religion has had anything that can be called a history in the world at all. It has lived through time, of course, but that is not sufficient to give it a history; so have trees and birds and beasts and creeping things. It may even have wrought itself into the fabric of a particular human society, and shared its life and fate; but a human society in this sense—as a thing which dies and disappears, taking all that belonged to it in its train, religion included—is rather a natural than a historical phenomenon, and so is the religion which is interwoven with it. I repeat, it is a fair question whether anything has ever been known among men which is entitled to be called in the full sense a historical religion—a religion entering into the life of men with a ceaseless vital force, propagating itself with new energy from age to age, with an infinite power of assimilating and being assimilated by all new developments in the progress of mankind—except the religion of the Old and New Testaments. But without pressing that point of distinction, it is necessary to determine the relation of Christianity to the other religious phenomena in the world, and the relation of the consciousness of God, as it is determined by Christianity, to the consciousness of God (for surely there is such a thing) at lower levels—it remains a question in what sense one can say at lower stages. This is a preliminary, but in no way an unimportant, piece of dogmatic theology. As a system of Christian truth, dogmatic inevitably expands into a Christian view of the

world as a whole; and one of the points at which our interest in taking the Christian view as a whole becomes acute is that at which the other religions press themselves on our attention. They are not Christianity, they are not equivalents for Christianity, but they are at least manifestations of that in man to which Christianity makes appeal, and it would be an artificial and timid construction of Christianity that did not do what it could to appreciate them and determine its own relation to them. To do this is one thing; to determine the relation of Christianity to the so-called "natural religion" of philosophy, or to any particular rationalising of religion, whether by metaphysicians or anthropologists, is another, and a much easier. Such a determining of the relation of Christianity to other religions as makes it appear that Christianity satisfies the idea of religion, and is entitled to displace if not to absorb all else that claims that name, has sometimes been called Apologetic; but whatever the proper name for it may be, it seems to me to form a natural and inevitable introduction to dogmatic, and I shall treat of it in that light.

As to the exhibition of the contents of the fundamental dogma in detail, there are certain broad lines which the obvious necessities of the case impose upon every theologian. Let us say, for instance, that Christian faith involves the consciousness of reconciliation to God in Jesus Christ, and then proceed to ask ourselves how we can bring out fully and clearly to our minds, in a scientific form, the contents of this faith. It involves a Christian knowledge of God—a theology in the strict sense of the term. There is no part of the whole domain in which more difficult and far-reaching questions are raised than here. The God who is revealed to the Christian conscience in a special character in Christ Jesus is the God on whom all that is dependent, in whom all that is finds its chief end. The truth which is

ordinarily embodied in the doctrines of the creation and divine guiding and governing of the world falls, therefore, to be drawn out and defined in this connexion. But the consciousness of reconciliation to God in Jesus Christ involves also a consciousness of self in relation to God. Hence theology in the narrower sense is followed by anthropology. Anthropology is a name that has recently been annexed by a physical science, of somewhat indefinite boundaries; a science to which we owe a very great deal, but which has been to a considerable extent not only non-theological, but anti-theological. The anthropology of the theologian, it need not be said, is not physical, but theological; it is the doctrine of human nature as human nature is determined by its necessary relation to God; in particular, it is a doctrine of sin. This is a conception of which the physical anthropologist makes no use, and which he is very much inclined to deny; but the theologian finds it to be a constituent in the self-consciousness of Christian faith, and is bound to maintain it. But he is bound also—and this again is one of the points at which interest becomes acute—to take the facts of physics and of physical anthropology into account, and not to present as scientific an account of sin which stands in no relation to the other contents of the human mind upon the subject in question. He cannot have two minds; he cannot have two kinds of truth; and granting that there may be different ways of looking at or interpreting the same series of facts, a physical, *e.g.*, and an ethical or spiritual way, it is surely the business of the theologian, aiming as he does at a representation which does justice to the highest form of consciousness of which man is capable, to seek the reconciliation of these differences. When we say, further, that the consciousness of reconciliation to God in Jesus Christ involves a consciousness of Jesus Christ as the Reconciler, we have touched on the heart of Christian doctrine. Theology and

anthropology are combined in soteriology, or the doctrine of the Saviour and Salvation. This is indeed so fundamental that some theologians think it expedient to start with it, and treat theology and anthropology only so far as they are included in it, or dependent on it. But although the theology with which we are concerned is the doctrine of God as revealed in Christ to the Christian consciousness, and the anthropology is the doctrine of man as he is determined by his relation to God in Christ, the traditional order lends itself more easily to the effort which must be made to articulate Christian truth into the general framework of our knowledge, and for this among other reasons is preferred. All that remains of dogmatic is really the elaboration of soteriology. It has been analyzed into Christology, or the doctrine of Christ's Person, and soteriology in a narrower sense, the doctrine of Christ's work. These two really condition each other, and there is something to be said for the idea that our doctrine of what Christ is depends on our experience of what He does for us, as well as for the idea which seems to have determined the traditional order of treatment, that what Christ can do for us must depend on what He is. In either case, soteriology, as the doctrine of the salvation accomplished in and by Christ, must be completed by a doctrine exhibiting in its proper relations and proportions the application of this Christian salvation to individual souls, and its consummation in the Christian society which is called into being by the Gospel, and lives by faith. It is here that we have to treat of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, of what it has been customary to call the *ordo salutis*, of the Church and the means of grace which it administers, and by which it lives, and of the final hope which is guaranteed by faith. There is a point here at which dogmatic runs parallel to, if it does not coincide with, Christian ethics; but it is a doctrinal, not an ethical treatment, that has to be aimed at; and however wide the

range of subjects, we ought to be conscious all the time that they are included in the principle, or fundamental dogma with which we started, that they can all be justified by reference to it, and that all of them, equally with it, can appeal to the primary assurance which faith gives of its object.

Theology on this scale, and in the character I have tried to describe, makes great demands upon its students. It presupposes Christian faith and Christian experience; it can only be hopefully approached by one who is intimately familiar with the New Testament, and who has at least acquaintance enough with the history and experience of the Church to appreciate their importance for the study. But granted anything like the necessary equipment, we are bound to claim for theology a character which is not seldom contested, and which whole schools of theologians themselves seem inconsiderately ready to throw away. Faith, as I have said already, is the presupposition of every proposition the theologian enunciates; the truth which he claims to possess he possesses through faith, and in no other way. *All* his knowledge is *saving* knowledge, the knowledge of a believing man; that attitude of his whole being toward Jesus Christ which we call faith conditions it throughout. If we choose to say so, it is a knowledge which is relative to faith, just as our knowledge of nature is relative to the sensible and intellectual constitution in which we live. But we are not able to conceive that the realities to which faith introduces us are not real, the truths which it involves in itself not true; nor am I, for one, able to conceive two kinds of truth, or two sorts of reality which stand in no relation to one another. The unity of knowledge is presupposed in every exercise of the mind, and it seems to me a counsel of despair—a futile expedient to which no man living in the open air will seriously listen—to try to place theology in

an unassailable position by making the truth which it claims to interpret discontinuous with all the other truth in which our minds live. If we can do no better than this, we had better not begin. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is the God of whom and through whom and to whom are all things; and what physical science reveals of His nature and methods of working cannot stand in no relation to His character as that is revealed in Christ to faith. Of course I do not say that we can interpret these two things in consistency with each other at every point, still less that the certainty of faith must unconditionally surrender to that of science, where they seem to conflict; but I do say that a man has only one mind, and that it is his business to conciliate and to harmonize all that it contains. There may be incidental inconsistencies in it, but there must be no inconsistencies on principle. The attempt to expel metaphysics from theology is well intentioned, but it will not succeed. It is really a plea to decline consideration, in the science of theology, of the unity of all truth; and the end inevitably is that we have no knowledge at all. It is an appeal not to think, and such an appeal, addressed to the intelligence, must finally be in vain. The mind thinks in us whether we will or not, and thinks best perhaps when it goes of its own accord; but to give up striving for the unity of truth and knowledge would be to give up its own nature. The truth rather is, that instead of expelling metaphysics from theology, we must urge the claim of theology to be the only true metaphysics. Metaphysics is the science which deals with the ultimate reality of things, with the truth which is beneath, behind, and through all things, and makes them what they are. To a Christian man that ultimate reality is the reconciling love of God with which his faith has brought him acquainted in Jesus Christ. He can never

doubt the reality of that ; he can never believe that there is any reality in the universe beyond it. It is his *ens realissimum* as well as his *summum bonum*. It is historically revealed, but it belongs to a world beyond time. He puts it in the place which the speculative philosopher fills with abstractions like being, or thought, or the universal self-consciousness, or the law of the world. It is far more real than these, as well as far more definite, and has a right to displace them. Every philosopher will tell you that his metaphysic is his theology ; every theologian who thinks seriously must say that his theology is his metaphysic. The philosopher wants to see all things *sub specie æternitatis*, or, as Spinoza modestly put it at first, with a qualification which modern absolutists too lightly forget, *sub specie QUADAM æternitatis* ; the theologian may not be attracted by the expression, but he is engaged in what is really the same task when he tries, as he is bound to do, to see all things *in Christ*. *In Christo*, the sign manual of all the Apostles, is the concrete Christian equivalent of the speculative *sub specie æternitatis*. Either aim is heroic, though only the Christian one is legitimate for the Christian ; and though neither can be fully attained in a world in which we know in part, it is the very life of our souls to keep the true end in its unity before them. "The greatest part of our perfection is to thirst for perfection," and to keep the goal of Christian theology, which is the goal of the human spirit admitted to fellowship with the true God in Jesus Christ, perpetually before our eyes, though well aware that we can only greet it afar off, is the one hope of theological progress. To divide the mind, or to divide truth, is in the long run to renounce God. It is with no arrogance I speak emphatically of this, under no illusion that the theologian, any more than the speculative philosopher, can find out God to perfection ; but in the strong conviction that in Jesus Christ we are in con-

tact with the ultimate truth and reality of the world, and that we must labour, in thought as in practice, to gather together in one all things in Him.

JAMES DENNEY.

THE DIABOLIC IMAGE.

(JOHN VIII. 43-47.)

TWICE over has our Lord, with fatal effect, put to a practical test the religious pretensions of the rabbis. First, they claimed to be the genuine spiritual descendants of Abraham. This claim He disposed of thus: "If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham"; but ye do not. Next they claimed a still higher spiritual lineage: "We have one Father, even God Himself." This He has just answered by a similar argument: "If God were indeed your spiritual Father, ye would love Me" and the truth which He sent Me to proclaim; but ye do not.

It is at this point that Jesus quits the defensive attitude which He has thus far maintained. No longer content to refute their claims, He assumes the aggressive. If their behaviour towards Himself was enough to show that they had no moral kindred either with Abraham or with God, must it not likewise prove whose moral likeness they did wear, or who was their real spiritual parent? Already, once and again, He had hinted that they lay open to such a retort, such a turning of the tables upon themselves. Now He does more than hint it. A simple question first, to spur them to reflect and sharpen their ears to hear; then to the last and most crushing blow of all, this mighty disputant strides on!

The preliminary question, to stimulate thought, is this: "Why is it ye do not understand My speech?" Ye hear Me talk day after day of the things I have seen and heard

from God, truth which I have been sent by Him to tell; and yet it is plain you are at a loss to understand Me, for all this while you have been questioning and replying, quite beside the point! It is a pertinent inquiry for every one who finds himself from home in the teaching of Christ. Why is it? Simply because you are not able to hear His word, the inner sense or meaning of what He says: not able to hear it for want of the spiritual ear, the sense to discern spiritual and Divine truth. In man there is, or there ought to be, a faculty for the perception and enjoyment of Divine truth. As St. Paul tells us, he who possesses such a faculty "judgeth all things"; while "the natural man," wanting that faculty, "cannot know the things of the Spirit, because they are spiritually discerned." So here; our Lord accounts for the incomprehensibility of His teaching to the priests and doctors and leading men in Israel by this simple explanation: the faculty was gone within them—the spiritual eye put out by conceit, prejudice, class interest, jealousy for their order, and hatred of One whose words rebuked them.

But this inability of theirs to receive new light was only one feature in their moral condition, to be explained at bottom by the same awful fact which explained all the rest of their conduct. So far from sharing in the nature of God, as they boasted, "ye are of your father the devil!" There, it is out at last! Not hinted at, as twice before, but bluntly charged home, with intentional plain speaking, in the hope to reach the conscience; the strongest and most terrible thing which Jesus ever said or could say about any sons of men! Think for a moment, ere we go further, what precisely could be meant by such a charge, occurring where it does in the course of this conversation as we have traced it hitherto. Their latest claim had been to hold such a relationship to Jehovah as a son holds to his father; and our Lord had argued that in that case they would be found

to wear a moral character resembling the nature of God. Now, in the place of God, He substitutes as the type of moral and spiritual character after whom they were really moulded, the implacable adversary of God, tempter of man, and head of moral evil in the universe. From this express parallel betwixt the relationship of God to good men, His children, and the relationship of Satan to these evil men, it is plainly to be inferred, first, that their character in its essential features resembled Satan's, and next, that this essential evil character had somehow been derived from Satan. It implies what the opening chapters of Genesis suggest—that an evil spirit has been the original source of human evil, and that to his action or inspiration is to be traced the possession by fallen men of a moral complexion resembling his own.

Now for the proof of this; because it is certain that Jesus will not be suffered to advance so daring an accusation if He give them time so much as to breathe, and do not instantly follow it up with palpable and notorious evidence. He has at hand the materials for doing this. Their own attitude towards Himself—their recent action in His case—was the evidence by which He judged them. They were secretly plotting to take His life. This they knew; perhaps did not know that He knew it; were at all events not prepared to have it dragged into the light; listened aghast and conscience-struck to words which looked as though He were about to expose in public their hidden plots to cut Him off, and all the villainy which they had been hatching in secret conclave. This is how we can best explain the silence of these rulers, while, with one swift and terrible sentence after another, each sentence like the lash of a whip, He pressed home on them their falsehood and their desire to murder.

The substance of this exposure lay in a single sentence: "The lusts of your father (the devil) it is your will to do."

Here the emphasis lies on the word "will." Many men do in fact accomplish the purposes of the evil one without meaning it, just as God makes tools of us all, whether we are in sympathy with His plans or not. But these men were entering, consciously and deliberately, into an iniquitous plot to bring about just what seemed best to suit the devil's plans at that moment—I mean the premature assassination of the Son of God and Saviour of the world. This was at that moment the devil's supreme desire, as our Lord (always open to the unseen world) very well saw; and this end, after which the devil lusted, he was employing these respectable agents to effect—to effect, not altogether as unconscious tools, rather as men whose own hearts jumped that same way, who liked the work they had in hand.

If anything could have held back the prevalent party in the Sanhedrim from the policy on which they were now entering, surely it would have been so fearless an exposure of its true character and of the abyss to which it was leading them; for to a certain extent these rulers were tools in the hand of an invisible master. Satan was using them, as in his turn Satan and all his accomplices were being used by Infinite Wisdom to work out the world's redemption. Had the Jews known that it was the Lord of glory whom they were conspiring to slay, they would not have slain Him. In mercy to their tempted souls Jesus showed them that He saw through the plot; told them how criminal it was, how much more criminal than they supposed; and warned them against becoming the willing instruments in a diabolic murder.

"Diabolic" it literally was, this plot which they were beginning to contrive; since it combined those two features—of falsehood and of hatred—in which our Lord finds the ruling marks of the satanic character. We have heard of these already in this discussion. It will be recollected how

He has just proved the unlikeness of the Jews to Abraham by contrasting their conduct with the two chief characteristics of that friend of God: first, his loyalty to God's truth; second, his loving attachment to God Himself. As truth and love are the key-notes of the Divine, so do the opposites of these two sum up the devilish—untruth and hatred. Going back for illustration to the earliest appearance of the evil spirit upon the field of human history, in the temptation of Eve, our Lord has no difficulty in detecting there these ground elements in his moral physiognomy. The part he played so successfully in Eden was the part of a liar and a murderer; and this part he has consistently sustained ever since. Murder of the good, his end; falsehood and denial of the true, his means.

Murder (as our Lord in His Sermon on the Mount had long before taught the people) is the last practical outcome of hatred—that to which hate in all its degrees must tend. And the root of Satan's scheme against the life of our unhappy race at its origin was a profound hatred, first of all, of the God whose wisdom and love in man's creation he thirsted to balk; next, of the innocent pair whose pure happiness filled him with envy. Thus Milton makes him soliloquise at sight of our first parents:

"Sight hateful, sight tormenting! Thus these two,
Imparadised in one another's arms,
The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill
Of bliss on bliss; while I to Hell am thrust,
Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
Among our other torments not the least,
Still unfulfilled, with pain of longing pines!"

—*Par. Lost*, iv. 505.

It could not often occur, even to a devil, to accomplish at one blow so gigantic a murder. To kill the body's life is little. Even to realize the ambition of that diabolic Cæsar who wished all Rome had but a single neck, to be

destroyed at one stroke, seems like nothing compared with the murder of a world's virtue. One soul slain for ever—seduced, corrupted, misled into everlasting death! But think on a race of souls dragged at once into damnation! It was a murder worthy of the prince of fiends. Yet once more, as it seemed, had such a chance come round again. That illustration from the fall of the first Adam, in whose death the race died, wore a marvellous appositeness when our Lord spoke. Once more there lived upon the earth another Adam, Son of man, second Head of the race, with whose life and victory over Satan were bound up anew all hopes and possibilities for mankind; and against Him it was possible for "this manslayer from the beginning" to weave new plots, with a desperate hope that, in slaying Him through these rabbis' willing hands, he might remurder all mankind.

As hate was still his motive, and theirs who served him, so was his instrument and theirs a lie. In Paradise he overcame by a falsehood—setting his lie against the truth of God. Through his subtlety it was that he beguiled the mother of all living;

". . . the first
That practised falsehood under saintly show,
Deep malice to conceal, couched with revenge."
—*Paradise Lost*, iv. 121.

For, as our Lord tells us here, in memorable words, which cleave like sword strokes, and yet are aglow with a suppressed scorn and wrath: "There is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar, and the father of it." The meanness of God's enemy seems to inflame this Son of God, when He thinks of it, even more than his malice did; so much so, that these wily Jews, who cower before His words, appear to vanish out of His sight, and the gigantic form alone remains, of one whom, through this long duel of His, ever since in the

wilderness He encountered him, Jesus has recognised as His true antagonist. Truly, our champion was not ignorant of Satan's devices. The mean artifice by which he imposed on Eve is a specimen of his art, by which you may know the rest. On that first untruth his kingdom stands. By untruth has it to be for ever bolstered up. Falsehood is the devil's element, his tool and his armour, his meat and his drink. Knowing the truth as he does, believing it, as in a sense he also does, trembling before it, as he is compelled to do, he yet hates it, gives it no place within him, but fights against it with envenomed falsehoods. This is the dreadful feature by which the spiritual children of evil are to be known, by which Jesus identified the Jews. He came to speak to them God's truth; which, when they heard it, perhaps they half suspected to be the truth of God, but for that very reason they shut their ears to His word, and tried to shut His mouth in death. Yet not by open, manly opposition. "Which of you convicteth Me of sin?" demanded the righteous One. They could not convict Him of sin. That of itself showed Him to be a true man. But what they could not do by open prosecution, they were craftily considering how they might effect by secret assassination, by illegal charges, by perjured evidence, by a popular tumult—by any means, if only the mouth of Him were stopped whose words were of God, and therefore hateful to men who were children of the devil!

Whatever might come of it, our Lord had now at length fairly broken with the most powerful party in the nation. With extraordinary courage He had uttered words in the hearing of the people which could neither be forgiven nor forgotten. Let us consider whether His words could be applicable only to the handful of His enemies who heard them, and to no one else. Can we suppose that these men possessed a nature radically different from that of other men? or, might we not, in their place, with their

training, have done the same things? Is there not in every human being a natural disposition to dislike the truth when it tells against one's self, and to deny it? Granting that there are many degrees in sinfulness, and that it is comparatively few who indulge party passion to the extent these men did, of plotting to kill a good man, who of us all can say that we have always been free from the sin of resenting God's truth, and veiling our dislike of it in falsehood? Think then what an appalling shadow these words of Christ cast over the spiritual condition of all men, in spite of the remains of natural virtue or of that universal instinct which approves the good and feels after God! There is something which may well make any sober-minded person shudder in this solemn utterance of Him who is the Truth. The doctrine of human depravity, or of the extent to which man's nature has been brought under a fatal influence from beneath, by him who is the finished embodiment of the bad, is a doctrine always objectionable to the mass of mankind; and the Church has had to sustain no slight share of obloquy for professing it in her belief. But He who speaks in this text is at least no gloomy theorist who pushes his dark view of human life to an extreme, nor is He one to fling about such strong words at random. He is not speaking in anger, nor would He asperse or vilify human nature for His personal quarrel with the Jews. It is impossible therefore to break the edge of His statements, as might have been done with another man's. Moreover, the more closely His statements are looked at, the less easy does it become for any of us to evade them. When the real badness of our common nature is traced back to a diabolic origin or authorship, no matter what may be the degree of it, then neither apology nor palliation will avail us. To be slightly tainted with hatred or with falsehood is to be tainted, and the taint is Satan's. To be only now and then like the liar and murderer is still to bear his mark.

So that, when you come to face it, every wilful sin against God must be held to indicate some connexion with that realm of utter sinfulness and godlessness of which God's personal enemy is the embodiment and the chief. From that quarter of the moral sphere does every human sinner derive his tendency to sin ; to it his sins attach him ; and the more he sins the more surely is he moving thitherward.

Let this unvarnished revelation, so damaging to the credit of human nature, yet roundly asserted by the lips of Him who made and who redeems man, be seriously pondered by all of us for practical ends. For once the Lord Jesus has here broken through that discreet reticence about the dark, diabolic background of our experience which is customary even in Scripture ; for it is not on every page even of the Bible that our moral kinship to the world of darkness is nakedly exposed. The same apostle indeed who reports this conversation of his Master was subsequently inspired to expand it at some length. But not in Scripture, any more than in the press or in the pulpit, is this topic frequently discussed. There is a reverential reserve, which for the most part it is seemly to maintain, upon an aspect of human character so awful. Yet our thoughts of it can never again be quite the same, after our Lord and Saviour has even once spoken thus in our hearing. Consider how it ought to affect us. It has been witnessed to us that these ground elements of all sin which is not sensuous but spiritual—spite and falsehood—are of diabolic birth, and set us at the opposite diameter of moral existence from God our Maker. Seeing we are every one of us aware that such evil feelings do work in our hearts, and that such wicked things have been done with our will, ought we not to feel crushed before God in shame and sorrow ? Especially, ought we not to realize how nothing short of a new birth from above will avail for creatures whose moral parentage (to begin with) is from

beneath? What will education do for us, or self-control, or membership in the Church? What but regeneration by the Spirit of the holy God will do for those whose evil is not skin deep, to be remedied by superficial treatment, but (as Christ tells) is a congenital taint in the blood, an antigodly nature come of the lineage of the very devil himself? No wonder the same Teacher had to say: "Except a man be born over again from above—becoming a child of God—he cannot see the kingdom of heaven." Surely too it will be each man's wisdom to inquire diligently wherein or how far such diabolic features show themselves in his own conduct. It may be that in our life, as it relates to God and to religion at all events, dislike of God's truth is actually the deepest seated thing in us and the motive which determines our general behaviour. Or it may appear that at bottom we are really lovers of God and of the truth, yet can detect in many a minor detail of our conduct something of the evil one: a little spite, a little detraction, a touch of envy when others are happier, self-conceit which we would rather believe true than have proved false, or a clinging to opinions which are agreeable and a creed that is easy, disliking to be troubled with truths that pain while they correct us. How anxiously do we all need (even though we be sons of God through Christ's grace) to trample down and root out with utmost diligence these roots of bitterness, purging the soul of evil to its last fibre! For while these things are in us, are they not relics of that venom of ill which was at the first inbreathed into the sweet blood of our nature by the poisoned breath of Satan, and which it is Christ's work to expel that we may be wholly a "new lump," all good, the product of that wholesome Spirit from on high whose name is holy, whose word is truth, whose fruit is love?

J. OSWALD DYKES.

THE DRAMA OF CREATION.

SCENE SIXTH.

Living Creatures—Man.

THE orderly march of life and beauty proceeds farther when the curtain of darkness rises and shows the lighted stage for the sixth scene of the drama. What was created first was peopled first, the dry land with its carpet of grass and trees and fruit for the support of other life, the sea with its hosts of inhabitants, and the firmament of heaven. There is a manifest order in this march of life towards something yet unknown and unseen, but rising higher in the scale of being, and foreshadowed before it appears. The prophet who sees and reports this progress passes no comment of his own on the marvellous scenes that are transacted on the lighted stage. In other cases when the curtain is lifted, and a drama of heaven is acted in the sight of man, the throne is seen, the audience is described, and the speakers are heard speaking. It is not so here. All these parts of the drama, though understood to be in view of the seer, are overshadowed by the glorious presence of the One Worker. In that presence the scenery sinks into nothing. It makes no addition to His greatness or to His glory; for the grandeur of the piece is the One Worker and His work, the loving Father and His regard for man.

The movements in the drama proceed; the fulfilment of promise or prophecy continues from scene to scene. "God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so." There is no philosophic or priestly speculation regarding the lower creatures; there was none in the previous scenes. Everything is so simply told, and the words are so common, that it is evident the drama was intended to teach the common people in the

most attractive and most easily remembered style. Of priestly or philosophic influence there is no trace whatever. Written for the people by one of themselves, may most truly be said of this ancient drama. Systems and beliefs, that have worked untold woe in the world, are struck at or shoved aside, are ignored or condemned. The passing of a sinful human soul into the body of a beast, there to be punished and purified, as other ancient creeds taught mankind, finds no place in this drama. The wisdom of ancient Egypt held that the soul, "when the body dies, enters into the form of an animal, which is born at the moment, thence passing on from one animal into another, until it has circled through the forms of all the creatures which tenant the earth, the water, and the air, after which it enters again into a human frame, and is born anew in three thousand years." Pythagoras accepted this nonsense; even Plato seems to have half believed it too. What horrors of darkness have been escaped by the simple utterances of this drama! What untold terrors! A father, a mother, a brother, a sister, might be prisoned in the body of a brute a man had slain, or was preparing to eat. Yes, a wife, a son, a daughter! What shudderings of humanity at this risk of awful horrors! The chains of bondage, thus wrapped round man's sensitive soul by priestly guile, are broken in pieces by the words of this sacred drama. Freedom from superstition in the light of truth, the peace of God, the golden age of humanity, are its grand characteristics. Yet this faith, grotesque as it appears to us, is accepted by millions of men to the present day.

Earth and sea and sky have thus been prepared for some great event that has still to come on the stage. Earth was a palace, a magnificent palace, without a king: its manifold tribes were subjects without a lord. A palace and a court were provided; where was the king? The grand

abode was ready to receive a master ; the court was set, waiting for its monarch to enter. As becomes the dignity of a lord so exalted as this waited-for king, he comes last on the stage of life. "Let us make man," is uttered by the commanding voice of the Creator. He is the only creature singled out from all the tribes of life as worthy of a special name. The others are slumped together in an undistinguished mass ; they are the many, the mere multitude, as we speak to-day, or they are "the great whales," whatever the words mean. Man is *the one*, standing apart, royal in his isolation. He stands apart from other earthly life ; but he is akin with heaven and its inhabitants, even while he belongs in one sense to the earth. The voice tells us the relationship : "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness ; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." The gift of dominion was thus made to man at his birth.

There are two things remarkable in this last creative act : Man is made in the image of God, and is crowned with the right of universal dominion. That the two are one and the same is evident ; but a single gift is sometimes better seen, and is often more valued, when looked at from two sides. It is so here. Without the gift of the image of God, the kingship, given at the same time, would mean a throne shorn of its magnificence. Man, the likeness of God, takes the place of his creating Father in intellectual and moral relationship to the lower creatures. As the Father bends and trains the tribes of life to His will, and for His honour, so man, His child and His likeness, is gifted with sparks of this intellectual power to subjugate and to use them for his welfare. The intellectual power of man is kept in check, or enhanced by the moral power. Where the intellectual power alone is allowed to sway

man's action, the king becomes a despot and a tyrant, stained with deeds of cruelty towards animal life, which may fill even his fellow-men with horror. When the moral power asserts its supremacy, man becomes a kingly friend, whom the lower tribes of life recognise as their loving head, whom they follow, whom they obey, often to the delight and wonder of onlookers, to whom is not given the happy gift of winning their subjects' affection. "Be a King," a true King, is plainly set down here as God our Father's command to man.

But the gift of dominion and kingship is distinctly stated by the speaker in this drama. As man walks upon the scene, surrounded by the glories of the new court over which he is set, the seer or prophet tells what he saw, "So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them." A blessing is added, and the terms of the blessing are peculiar: "God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." How far this gift of dominion extended is not said. It is man's charter to rule earth and every living thing that is in it; and, if the terms of the charter stopped at this point, or if they were not supplemented by another charter at a much later period, we should be in doubt what view to take. The supplement to this charter was added after the Flood: "Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things."¹ In the drama there is a second charter, a charter conveying to man and beast alike a right to live, which must be taken along with this right of dominion. It is in these terms: *First*, the commanding voice speaks to man: "God said,

¹ For the renewal of the original charter see Genesis viii. 17, 19; for the supplement Genesis ix. 3.

Behold I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree, yielding seed : to you it shall be for meat. The *second* part is in similar terms, and is given to the living things of earth, "To every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to everything that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat : and it was so."

The scene, presented to the eye of the prophet, is a scene of royal life and peacefulness. Death to living creatures has not found an entrance into the King's palace : nature, red in tooth and claw, is unknown in this drama ; the King and his subjects live together in harmony under separate charters from their sovereign lord. We are told that, as God looked abroad on the kingdom of peace He had called into being, "He saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good." There can be no doubt that the drama is a picture of the lost golden age of the world, restored again in the Book of the Revelation.

The concluding words of the sixth scene open up a farther development of the purpose of the drama : "God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good." Angels and archangels, we are told, stars of the morning, shouted their gladness in hymns of praise at the completion of this wonderful work. It was like their Lord and like themselves, a triumph of light, a magnificent work of peace. What the angels sang to celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ and the return of the golden age to earth, "Glory to God in the Highest, peace on earth, goodwill to men," may have been also sung at the beginning of man's reign on earth. It was meant to be a reign of life, of peace, of righteousness. Peace resting on order, resulting in beauty, and covering earth with a lighted glory, is the main end of creation according to the drama : peace between God and man, peace between man and the subject tribes of life. The lighted

stage in this drama shows peace and gladness prevalent on the new or renovated earth. It reveals the golden age of time, whatever preceded and whatever followed. It is the bright youth of humanity ; it is the dream of later and of degenerate days. What the Bible begins with, and shows was lost by man, it shows him also striving, but striving without success, to regain. The golden age of peace and truth was gone from earth : it had fled to heaven. All ages bewailed the terrible loss ; all poets, heathen as well as Hebrew, sang its glories and hoped for its return. Prophets spoke of it, described its peaceful ways, and assured mankind that it would come again to bless the world. What the drama showed at the beginning of the Bible, another drama showed at the end, the golden city and the golden age returning from heaven—no death, no night, no tears, no sorrow, perfect peace. This is the thread that guides our footsteps through the labyrinth of man's history, and this longing for the return of the golden age is the thread that connects every book of the Bible with every other from Genesis to Revelation. The drama of creation in Genesis is a drama of the golden age of earth, what the world then was, what prophets, poets, apostles, and heroes hope it will become again—perfect peace, gladness without alloy.

THE SEVENTH SCENE.

Peace and Rest.

When light flooded the stage on the seventh day, there was silence on the throne ; no commanding voice was heard speaking, and the audience was wrapped in the attentiveness of an overpowering awe. Creation was ended ; the march of a new or renovated world was begun ; the day of man's reign had opened on time. The Great King on his throne, the courtiers around, and the seer, to whom this view of the heavenly court was vouchsafed, are all represented as calmly contemplating the wonderful results of the

six scenes that were past : to use the words of the drama of the new Creation in the last book of the Bible, " There was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour." The city described in the Book of Revelation may be imagined to reproduce in man's thoughts this world of the golden age—" Having the glory of God, and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal; . . . and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass . . . and there shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie . . . and there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever." When the drama of Genesis was shown to the prophet-seer, it represented a time when jasper-stones, and crystal, and pure gold and glass had not been called into use by the inventive faculty of man, and when defilement and lies and candles were still unknown. Words and things, which were most suitable to enter into a description of the new golden age in the Book of Revelation, would have been wholly out of place, and would have carried with them an air of intense unreality, had they been employed to decorate the language in the drama of Genesis. They are not found in that drama. Nothing is found there but the severe simplicity of truth in its description, expressed or understood, of the original golden age.

The work, then, is ended; the golden age of peace and happiness has begun: " On the seventh day God ended His work which He had made; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made. And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it; because that in it He had rested from all His work which God had made." There are two things in this last scene of the drama—the rest of the Worker, and the blessing on the day. Every-

thing about the drama is so simply human that we feel we are in the presence of man and are speaking of man, while we are aware all the while that it is God who is speaking and working. The illusion is complete. We are carried away by it, and are quite satisfied so to be. But what we do feel above all other things is that, as we are, so this loving Father was. He worked to make a world; He rested after the world was made. We work to dig or to plough, to build or to fashion, and it is an inspiring thought that when we rest after such work, we are not giving way to idleness or laziness, but are following the example of our Maker and our Father. Rest after work was the example and the rule set to mankind by God. From the beginning God is represented as descending to man's level for man's welfare.

The second thing said about the last scene of the drama is that "God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it." He pronounced a blessing on the day, and He set it apart from all other days as a holy day. To bless the seventh day is a singular phrase, of which no example besides occurs in the Old Testament.¹ To bless a man, or a field, or a family, are common enough expressions, but not "to bless a day." It is called the seventh day in the drama; it is called the Sabbath or Rest-day in after ages.² That this blessing of it meant imparting to the day a peculiar dignity above other days is unmistakable. What that dignity was, and how it was handed down or maintained in the world, are nowhere told us. The setting apart of the Rest-day is a fact beyond dispute; the usefulness of it to worn and wearied men is another acknowledged fact, and the fitness of one day in seven over any other proportion of man's time is also generally allowed. Was it chance or a poet's dream or a romancer's fancy that invented this Rest-

¹ Lev. xxv. 10 is the nearest approach to it.

² Exod. xx. 11.

day, that discovered this best proportion of one day in seven, and that led men to number by weeks of seven rather than by weeks of ten or twelve days? Let us say or think what we please, it is plain that there is something unearthly about this drama of creation, something that penetrates into every fibre of man's being, and finds a response in every arrangement of man's social order. A document, not containing so many words as are found in one hundred lines of Homer, or in a speech from an Athenian tragedy, has taught the world by direct statement, or by a wise silence, practical and theoretical truth for man's guidance in life, which the wisest and most civilised nations of antiquity failed to grasp, far less to apply. The brevity of this incomparable drama, the simplicity of the language, the loftiness of the ideas, and their gracious influence on man's welfare and progress might have saved it from the sneers to which it has been frequently exposed. What poets and prophets said of their compositions may most truly be said of this drama—"Hear ye the word of the Lord."

The challenge thrown down by this drama is thus a challenge to the science of the ancient world, to its degrading conceptions of God and man alike. No challenge is implied to modern science, and none is given. In fact modern science is at one with this drama in calmly setting aside the follies of astrology, of sun worship, of moon worship, and of transmigration of souls. On the picture of the creation of living things, seen in general outline and briefly portrayed by the prophet spectator, he would be a critic hard to please who would say that there is error or flaw in its brief descriptions. There is marvellous accuracy of outline; there is also marvellous beauty. This miniature, with its high moral purpose and its lofty teaching of a personal God and a loving Father, is at once a supreme work of art, and a piece of literature worthy to be called

"The Word of the Lord." In fact, "to examine the meaning of the sacred Scripture, and see 'how far its modes and figures of representation are merely vehicles of inner truth or are of the essence of the truth itself—to understand the human conditions of the writers, and appreciate how far these may have influenced their statements—to give to past theological language its proper weight, and not more than its proper weight—to trace the history of its terms so as not to confound human thought with Divine faith'—all these processes are essential to the theologian—some measure of them is required in every educated man who will think rightly on such subjects." ¹

JAMES SIME.

¹ *Culture and Religion*, J. C. Shairp, Principal St. Andrew's University, p. 90.

ARE THERE TWO LUKAN TEXTS OF ACTS?

THE most remarkable fact in recent criticism of the *Acts of the Apostles* is the increased importance attached to the "Western Text." The origin of that Text is discussed from various points of view, and with widely varying results; but undoubtedly the opinion which recognises the high value of that Text is growing in strength. The latest work of Prof. Blass in this line of research consists in an attempt to determine the Western Text in the form in which he believes that Paul wrote it. To this task he has applied all the learning and critical skill which have earned for him a leading place among the great scholars of the nineteenth century; and he has prefixed to the little book a preface in the crisp and epigrammatic style of Latin, which he handles so well.¹ Whereas he formerly rejected the name "Western" (which Hort preferred) as far too narrow a designation for a Text which was so widely spread, and one of whose chief representatives is a Syriac Version, he now acknowledges that he was mistaken (p. vi. f.); and he uses the even narrower title "Roman," understanding that this form of Text took its origin in Rome, when Luke was the companion of Paul's imprisonment there, and spread thence in all directions, being diffused in Syria through the influence of Tatian. Hort's title is thus justified; and we may continue to use it, confirmed by Blass's support.

Dr. Blass's theory—that Luke wrote two distinct Texts of *Acts*, first a longer (the "Roman" or Western), and thereafter a more concise form of the same book—is familiar to

¹ *Acta Apostolorum, sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter. Secundum formam quae videtur Romanam edidit Fridericus Blass, 1896.*

every one, and finds a growing number of adherents. The list of scholars who support it becomes steadily more imposing, alike from their numbers and their high standing in the world of scholarship. Yet I cannot but feel that in regard to their contention a distinction must be made. They have conclusively established, as I think, part of their theory; but in part of it they go too far, and will have to retract their position, inasmuch as they fail to rightly distinguish the bearing of certain facts. They sometimes argue quite correctly (as it seems to me) that the historical value attaching to the Western form of a certain sentence is so high that this form must be due to Luke himself; but they proceed incorrectly to infer that there must be two original and Lukan forms of the sentence in question. I miss in several such cases¹ the proof, or the probability, that the Eastern form of the sentence is equally original and good.

I have always, even before Dr. Blass had published anything on the subject, urged (1) that a high historical value belongs to many statements made in the Western Text; (2) that in a certain number of cases the Western variants either give exactly, or approximate to, the original words of Luke. But in most cases there seems to me to be good reason for regarding only one form of sentence as Lukan, and the other as a corruption. On p. viii. of his preface Dr. Blass claims that my arguments in favour of the historical truth of "Western" sentences are in reality so many proofs of his theory; but in several of these cases it seems to me that the Eastern Text is bad, and that the "Western" Text points the way to the true form, as written by Luke. This prefatory explanation is needed to make my position in the following pages clear.

¹ In a few cases, however, as will appear in the sequel, I believe that the case is probably made out, and that two forms of sentence may be with some probability assigned to Luke.

Through much of what Dr. Blass has written on this question we recognise the tone of the explorer, so intent on his own quest that he sees only the facts which tell in his own favour. Let me give one example of this.

On p. xi. f. he urges, as a strong confirmation of the existence of two original Lukan Texts, that in the speeches of *Acts* far fewer differences occur between the Eastern and Western Texts than in the narrative portions, whereas, if the Western Text were merely due to corruption, there ought to be as many variations from the Eastern Text in speeches as in narrative. So far his reasoning is obviously correct. The author, if he wrote two forms of his work, would be less likely to vary his expression in speeches, which he took on authority, than in narrative, where his expression was more free. Dr. Blass also points out that in the long speech of Peter ii. 14-40 all the variations that occur are quite unimportant; and in a note he quotes many other examples (several of which, however, do not show such very marked adherence to the rule which he has stated).

But every one must surely see that, if Luke felt himself bound to avoid variations in the case of speeches, much more would he feel himself bound to avoid them where he quotes a document *verbatim*. Now in xv. 23-29 he quotes a short document, embodying the Decree of the Apostolic Council. The document was of immense importance in his estimation, for he describes with unusual minuteness the stages of the action that led up to it. The value of such a Decree, laying down a universal rule of life intended to apply to all Gentile Christians, depends on scrupulous adherence to the exact words. But in this short Decree, Luke felt himself—according to Dr. Blass—free to give as equally authoritative and equally authentic two forms, varying from each other in four places; further, one of these variations is in respect of the rules laid down for the

guidance of Gentile Christians. We are asked to believe that in his first edition Luke gave a fuller form of the Decree; and that, when he revised his work, he cut out from *v.* 24 the words "telling you to be circumcised and to observe the Law," from *v.* 26 the words "to every trial," from *v.* 29 the words "and not to do unto another whatsoever things you do not wish to be done to yourselves," and from the end of the same verse "being borne onwards in the Holy Spirit." *Credat Iudæus Apella!*

It seems clear that both these forms cannot be of genuine Lukan origin: if the longer Western form is Lukan, the Eastern is mutilated by a later hand; if the Eastern form is Lukan, the Western has been interpolated by a later editor, who thrust into it scraps, the origin of which is readily traceable, while their presence adds little to the force and vigour of the Decree. Take, for example, the precept interpolated in *v.* 29. If such a precept had been written by the Apostles, why should Luke quote it rightly in one draft, and then cut it out? The real question is—did the original Decree contain the precept? Two lines of argument are open on this question.

(1) It might be plausibly argued, in a narrow logical view, that the interpolation spoils the Decree. The Apostles prescribe for the Gentiles certain rules of purity, which are advisable in order to facilitate intercourse between Jewish and Gentile Christians,¹ and which in all prob-

¹ I take this opportunity of correcting the erroneous interpretation of *ἡ πορεία* given in my *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 169, 171. The obviously ceremonial character of the other rules, in contrast with the moral character of the prohibition of *ἡ πορεία*, has led several scholars to hold that the word here denotes merely marriages within the forbidden degrees, which were allowed by Gentile law, but forbidden by Jewish law; and I wrongly adopted that view. It seems now clear to me that the Jews in this rule had been striking at a general and deep-rooted characteristic of pagan society, which at once cut off the pagans from intercourse with the Jews. In the opinion of even the best and most enlightened parts of pagan society habitual immorality (*ἡ πορεία*) was permissible and natural and right (practically the same view that is advocated

ability had long been recognised by the Jews as obligatory on all Gentiles who desired to come into relations with a synagogue; but the brief rule of moral character which is added in the Western Text spoils the simple force of the Decree. Then a later editor, who missed the true bearing of the Decree, found that here there was a lack of recognition of the moral side of life; and he interpolated the wide-spread maxim, summing up a man's duty to his neighbours, which is old Jewish in its negative form, ὁ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσης,¹ and is enunciated by Christ in its positive form (Matt. vii. 12; Luke vi. 31). This argument is thin, and lacks historical feeling.

(2) The added precept is a younger mixture of the Jewish negative form with Christ's positive form. But it is used in *Didache* i. 2, and therefore probably had an authoritative first century origin.² It stands on the level of the new *Logia*, representing a stage of thought later than Christ's, but earlier than the authoritative diffusion of the Gospels. Its fusion of Christ's words with the old Jewish rule is peculiarly suitable to the conciliatory attitude of James; but its variation from the Gospel form led to its being cut out from the Eastern Text at a later time. The Western Text seems to me Apostolic and Lukan.

Again, we observe sometimes that a view of life pervades a number of Western variants, different from that which characterizes the Eastern Text. As is shown in the following pages, Dr. Blass asks us to believe that in a series of

by some persons now): it became wrong only when complicated with extravagance or excess. Hence, before any pagan could be allowed to approach the synagogue, he must recognise and practise a stricter rule of life. The Apostles adopted this along with the other rules of purity, not implying thereby that Gentile Christians were to look on the avoidance of *πορνεία* as a merely ceremonial rule, but making it clear to all Jews that the necessary and fundamental rules of purity were observed by the Gentile Christians.

¹ Tobit iv. 16.

² See an interesting and suggestive paper by Mr. K. Lane in the *Classica Review*, April, 1897, p. 147.

cases Luke, after referring to Divine action as influencing conduct, changed his mind and cut out the reference (implying in some cases that a different reason actuated his personages). Again, we ask why, if Luke first wrote the Western Text, he should afterwards make the following changes, all showing a different tone as regards the position of women. In xvii. 4 he changed "the chief women" into "the wives of the chief men";¹ in xviii. 26 he placed Aquila before Priscilla instead of the usual order twice followed by Paul;² in xvii. 12 he changed the text so as to place the men of Berea before the women. The Bezan Text even cuts out Damaris from xvii. 34, but here it stands alone among the Western witnesses, and its evidence in this case cannot be pressed. In xviii. 18 the Western Text gives Priscilla before Aquila; but on the view that during the second century dislike to the prominence of women led to some changes in the text, it is quite natural that the results should be sporadic and incomplete. Even Dr. Blass admits that this kind of change was taking place at a later period, for he sets down the Bezan variants in xvii. 34, xviii. 26, as examples of such change.

Let us now attempt to approach these two Texts, the Western and the Eastern, without prepossession; and let us apply to them the same principles which we apply, when (as is frequently the case) we are confronted with two distinct texts of some old Christian document. For example, we often meet with two or more forms of the *Acta* of some Saint or Martyr; and in many cases it is possible to attain

¹ It is surely not permissible to suppose that Luke adopted the new reading *γυναικῶν τε τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι*, meaning "not a few of the wives of the chief men."

² Dr. Blass, in spite of the very large proportion of his Western witnesses who attest this variation, rejects it as a corruption, and makes the order the same in both Texts; but this seems contrary to his own principles for constituting the Western Text.

absolute certainty that one of the forms is earlier and another later. In the documents of that class we can distinguish several broad characteristics that mark off later forms from earlier forms. We regularly observe, as time goes on, a tendency in all those documents to pass through a certain series of changes :—

I. The sufferings and persecutions, to which the hero is exposed, are exaggerated and described in more detail ; and new sufferings are often inserted.

II. The miraculous element, especially the direct interference of Divine power in the action, is narrated in a fuller way, and is introduced in a greater number of places.

III. There is a marked tendency towards increased emphasis and exaggeration in general.

IV. The theological element is increased by the introduction of religious formulæ or ideas, and of references to ritual.

The Western Text, as all are agreed, was in existence during the second century. Even those who think it of later origin than the Eastern Text cannot allow a long period for the growth of changes. We cannot therefore on any hypothesis expect to find such serious changes made in the *Acts* as in the *Acta* of some martyr. But still we find in the Western variants examples of all the changes characteristic of later *Acta* as compared with earlier editions of the same *Acta*. The Bezan Text contains more examples for our purpose than does Blass's reconstituted Western Text ; and all those which he does not admit into the Text are regarded by him as corruptions. I shall give in the following list only examples which he admits as Lukan.

I. Exaggeration of Persecutions.

EASTERN TEXT.	WESTERN TEXT.
VIII. 1. διωγμὸς μέγας.	δ. μ. καὶ θλίψις.
XIII. 50. διωγμὸν.	θλίψω μεγάλην καὶ δ.
XIV. 2. ἐπήγειραν.	ἐπήγαγον διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν δικαίων.
XIV. 5. ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁρμὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων σὺν τοῖς ἀρχουσιν αὐτῶν ὑβρίσαι καὶ λιθο- βολῆσαι, συνιδόντες κατέφυγον.	καὶ πάλιν ἐπήγειραν διωγμὸν ἐκ δευτέρου οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, σὺν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ λιθοβολήσαντες ἐξέ- βαλον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ φυγόντες ἦλθον.
XIII. 28, 29 is much exaggerated in this direction.	

II. The Miraculous Element and Divine interposition.

EASTERN TEXT.	WESTERN TEXT.
XIX. 6. ἐλάλουν τε γλώσσαις καὶ ἐπροφήτεον.	ἐ. τε γ. ἐτέραις, καὶ ἐπεγίνωσκον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ ἐρμηνεύειν αὐτὰς ἑαυτοῖς· τινὲς δὲ κ. ε.
XIX. 14 is lengthened by specification of various details.	
XV. 32. προφητῆται ὄντες.	π. ο. πλήρεις πνεύματος ἀγίου.
XV. 7, 29, XVII. 15, XIX. 1, XX. 3: see next paragraph.	

Often, the Holy Spirit is introduced in the Western Text as conveying warnings or advice to Paul, where the Eastern Text either is silent about such intimation or even attributes the resulting action to Paul's own mind; *e.g.*, xv. 7, 29, xix. 1, xx. 3. Of these cases, xx. 3 is specially characteristic in the Eastern Text, "Paul determined to return"; in the Western Text, "The Spirit said to him to return." Such change of view implies change of hand.

III. Of emphasis and exaggeration the instances are very numerous, as Mr. Page has pointed out in his clever review (quoted below), *e.g.* :—

EASTERN TEXT.	WESTERN TEXT.
IX. 4. πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.	π. ε. τ. γ. μετὰ μεγάλης ἐκστάσεως.
IX. 5. ὁ δέ.	ὁ δὲ τρέμων τε καὶ θαμβῶν.
IX. 34. εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος.	ἀτενίσας δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ Π. ε. α. ¹
IX. 20. ἐκήρυσσεν.	ἐ. μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας.
X. 33. παραγενόμενος.	ἐν τάχει π.
XIV. 10. καὶ ἤλατο.	κ. εὐθέως παράχρημα ἦ.
XIV. 20. ἀναστὰς εἰσῆλθεν.	ἐσπέρας μόγις ἀ. ε.
XVI. 39. ἐλθόντες παρεκάλεσαν.	παραγενόμενοι μετὰ φίλων πολλῶν ² . . . παρεκάλεσαν.
XXI. 31. The Western Text inserts ὅρα οὖν μὴ ποιῶνται ἐπανάστασιν.	
XIX. 8. ἐπαρρησιάζετο.	ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλη ε.

IV. The theological element is frequently added in the Western Text; a typical example is the addition appended to xxviii. 31, "that this is the Christ the Son of God, by whom all the world shall be judged." Other examples are found in xxviii. 19, xiv. 25, xiii. 15, 26, 28 f., 33, 45, 47; but they are so frequent that it is needless to pile up examples.

This selection of specimens, which might be largely increased did I not shrink from loading the pages of the EXPOSITOR, is enough to establish a presumption that the Western Text is of later type than the Eastern. The supporters of Dr. Blass's theory should turn their attention to this line of argument, and not confine themselves to

¹ On the use of ἀτενίζειν by Luke see *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 38 f.

² Emphasizes the humiliation of the apology by laying stress on the crowd of witnesses; in Eastern Text the apology is privately made.

showing that in a considerable number of cases the Western Text is valuable. I am in entire agreement with them on that point; but it does not establish the existence of two Lukan Texts. All that Dr. Blass has proved is that we have two Texts, neither of which gives us the pure Lukan original; and we must work back from them to the form that came from Luke's own hand.

I would even go further to meet Dr. Blass, and admit that in a few passages, perhaps, the two varying forms may have originated from Luke's own hand; but I would explain this, not as due to the intentional composition of two Texts by Luke, but as caused by the fact that the work was not brought to its final stage of perfection when Luke died.¹ Analogies from Lucretius (whose work was likewise never completed) will suggest themselves to every classical scholar; and I believe that at least one example of a duplicate (and perhaps more) could be quoted from the *Æneid*, which was left incomplete at Virgil's death.

On the other hand, Dr. Blass has, I think, triumphantly demonstrated the impossibility of the view that the Western Text has originated purely from corruption of the Eastern. Against such a theory as that, it is quite logical and sound reasoning to found an argument on the value of many Western variants. He has made it clear that the Western Text goes back to a Lukan original differing in many respects from the Eastern Text; and the only point of dissension between him and myself is that I think the Eastern Text goes back to the same Lukan original, whereas Dr. Blass holds that both the Texts are Lukan in their present form.

The Western Text, then, contains, as I think, two classes of variants: (1) passages in which it leads us back to the true Lukan form, corrupted in the Eastern Text; (2) pas-

¹ As is argued in *St. Paul the Traveller*, *passim*.

sages in which it is distinctly late and corrupt, while the Eastern Text gives a truer form. The non-Lukan variants may have originated either through an accidental process of corruption or through intentional alteration at the hand of an editor or "Reviser." In a number of cases, I think that intentional change must be supposed, as when an obscure or unusual phrase, or a technical term, is replaced by a plainer and simpler expression, *e.g.* κεφαλὴ τῆς Μακεδονίας for πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας in xvi. 12 (where the interpreting change is complicated by an error in taking μερίδος as "province," instead of "division of a province"). The period when such explanatory changes found a place in the text was beyond any doubt the time when translations into Latin, Syriac, etc., began to be made; *i.e.* the middle of the second century.¹

Assuming the existence of a Reviser, we understand at once why, when he cut out a notable word in one place, he inserted it in some other place, where he thought it suitable. Thus in xiv. 2 he changes ἐπήγειραν to ἐπήγαγον; and in xiv. 5 he inserts ἐπήγειραν by a pure addition; and in xvi. 8 he changes παρήλθεν to διήλθεν, but in xvii. 15 he inserts παρήλθον by a pure addition to the text.²

The general impression that almost every one will derive from reading the Western Text, as reconstituted by Dr. Blass, is a feeling of profound thankfulness, in the interest of good literature, that Luke wrote another text of Acts, and did not content himself with this (supposed) first draft. While there are some cases in which the Western Text avoids a harsh construction, or a strange or obscure word, yet as a work of literature there cannot be any question that the Eastern Text is a far finer work. The interest,

¹ *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 25 f.

² But I admit that there is a possibility that Luke wrote the added sentence of xvii. 15: the decision depends on the unknown point whether Thessaly was in Macedonia, or in Achaia at the time. See *St. Paul the Trav.*, p. 234.

and even the value in many cases, of Dr. Blass's Western Text may be freely admitted; but Luke's claim to rank as a great or a charming writer can be rested with much more confidence on the Eastern Text. Many of the Western additions are weak and otiose, as Mr. Page has pointed out in an able and incisive (but rather one-sided) review.¹ A typical example of the sacrifice of effect is found in xii. 25, where the Western Text reads, "Paul, who is called by the additional name Saul." All the force, which is gained in the Eastern Text by introducing the transition from the Hebrew to the Greek name at a critical and turning point in the action (XIII. 9), is lost. The transition is introduced at an unimportant point; the author then returns to the Hebrew name; and then a second time makes the transition. A most marked and impressive literary effect, gained in the simplest way in the original and in the Eastern Text, is thus ruined in the Western Text; and it seems hardly open to doubt that *ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Παῦλος* is a mere gloss on the phrase used in XIII. 9 (*ὁ καὶ Παῦλος*)² which has crept into the text at a wrong place.

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ The *Classical Review*, July, 1897, p. 217.

² The amount of erroneous commentary that has been written on this phrase shows how needful some explanatory gloss was.

*AN OMISSION FROM THE TEXT OF THE
SINAI PALIMPSEST.*

My attention has only now been called to the fact that I have omitted to repeat an important word in the Sinai Palimpsest of the Gospels, as read by me in 1895. I refer to the last word in fol. 112, col. b (page 290). It is ܡܢܝܢ. It is so clearly written in my copy, and was so deeply engraved on my memory as the beginning of the beautiful passage (John xiv. 1), that there can be no mistake. I imagined that I had transferred it to the printed page before translating it. "And then" (Jesus said, "Let not your heart be troubled"). It occurs also in the Appendix to my English translation (page 137).

Here, perhaps, I may be allowed to correct a few misprints in my paper in the August number of *THE EXPOSITOR*, "Last Gleanings," pp. 111-119:—

- Page 113, ll. 28, 29, for ܡܢ read ܡܢܝܢ, Matt. iv. 18.
 „ 117, l. 13, „ „ „ „ John iv. 6.
 „ 114, l. 25, for ܡܢܝܢ read ܡܢܝܢ, Mark viii. 20.
 „ 114, l. 27, for ܡܢܝܢ read ܡܢܝܢ, Mark viii. 21.
 „ 115, l. 33, for ܡܢܝܢ read ܡܢܝܢ, Luke v. 21.
 „ 118, l. 7, for ܡܢܝܢ read ܡܢܝܢ, John xix. 41.

I can only hope that these are so obvious that most Syriac scholars who have seen them may already have made the corrections for themselves.

AGNES SMITH LEWIS.

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